

# **CITIZENS OR NOT?: THE LIVELIHOOD OF NEWLY NATURALIZED TANZANIANS IN ULYANKULU SETTLEMENT.**



**ANALYSING THE LIVELIHOODS OF NEWLY NATURALIZED  
TANZANIANS REFUGEES IN ULYANKULU SETTLEMENT IN TANZANIA.**

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**BY**

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**Dec. 2019**

**A RESEARCH SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE IN PARTIAL  
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE MASTER DEGREE IN  
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**WAGENINGEN UNIVERSITY AND RESEARCH**

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS:

Acknowledgement:.....	3
List of Acronyms .....	7
Abstract .....	8
Table of Contents: .....	5
<b>1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION:</b>	
1.1 Introduction.....	10
1.2. History of Integration in Tanzania .....	11
1.2.1 Burundi Refugees and NNTs in Tanzania. ....	11
1.3 Problem Statement. ....	13
1.4 Research Questions. ....	14
1.5 Study Location: (Ulyankulu Settlement) .....	15
1.6 Structure of the Thesis .....	16
<b>2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK:</b>	
2.1 Introduction. ....	17
2.2 The Local Integration, Livelihood and Identity. ....	17
2.3 Sustainable Livelihood Approach.....	19
2.4 Local Integration in other countries: Experience from Uganda and Kenya.....	20
2.4.1 Uganda Self-reliance Refugees Policy. ....	20
2.4.2 Kenya Refugees Integration: a Case study in Kakuma and Dadaab. ....	21
2.5 National Identity, Spatiality and Liminality. ....	23
2.6 De facto and De jure Citizenship: Experience learned by NNTs.....	25
2.7 Conclusion. ....	26
<b>3. METHODOLOGY:</b>	
3.1 Introduction. ....	28
3.2 Research Design. ....	28
3.3 Data Collection Methods. ....	29
3.3.1 Observation. ....	29
3.3.2 Informant. ....	29
3.3.3 Interviews. ....	30
3.3.4 Sampling. ....	31
3.4 Field Site. ....	31
3.5 Limitation and Ethical Issues. ....	32
3.6 Conclusion. ....	33
<b>4. LIVELIHOOD AND PUBLIC SERVICES: WATER, EMPLOYMENT, EDUCATION, HOUSING:</b>	
4.1 Introduction. ....	34
4.2 The Four Public Services In Ulyankulu.....	34
4.2.1 The Water Supply and water allocation with the settlement .....	35
4.2.2 Employment Opportunity and Economic Exclusion.....	36
4.2.3 Impacts of Education: What Has Changed Since the 1990s. ....	38
4.2.4 Housing And Building Permit: .....	39
4.5 Governmentality In Ulyankulu. ....	40
4.6 Conclusion. ....	41
<b>5. UNDERSTANDING INFORMALITIES AND HOW THEY SHAPE NNTs LIVELIHOOD:</b>	
5.1 Introduction . ....	43
5.2 The Social Classes: Gender Inequalities, Income Gaps and Traditionality.....	43
5.3 The Economic Informalities Within Ulyankulu Settlement.....	45
5.4 The Political Informalities Within Ulyankulu Settlement.....	48
5.5 The Spatial Informalities Within Ulyankulu Settlement.....	49
5.6 The Ways NNTs Deals with Informalities within the Settlement.....	50
5.7 Social Services Accessibility: How NNTs access and use Social Services.....	51
5.8 Conclusion.....	53
<b>6. LOCAL INTEGRATION AND RESOURCES DISTRIBUTION:</b>	
6.1 Introduction. ....	54
6.2 Land Ownership and Control. ....	54
6.3 How do NNTs Settled in Ulyankulu .....	55
6.4 Role played by Humanitarian Agents. ....	57
6.5 Conclusion. ....	58

<b>7. INTERACTION BETWEEN HOST COMMUNITY AND NNTs:</b>	
7.1 Introduction.....	60
7.2 Cultural Diffusion and Genealogical.....	60
7.2.1 Perception on Ancestry Belonging.....	61
7.2.2 Power Relation Between Upper and Low Zone Burundians.....	62
7.3 Conflicts and Insecurity Intensification.....	62
7.3.1 Criminality and Insecurity in Ulyankulu.....	63
7.3.2 Corruption And Legal Implications.....	63
7.4 Conclusion.....	64
<b>8. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS:</b>	
8.1 Introduction.....	65
8.2 Emperical Findings.....	65
8.3 Policy Reform Recommendations.....	68
8.4 Structural and Governmentality Recommendations.....	68
8.5 Future implications on Local Integration.....	69
<b>REFERENCE:</b> .....	71
<b>APPENDIX:</b> .....	75

## LIST OF ACRONYMS:

CWS.....	Church World Service
dTS .....	Development and Training Services, Inc.
DRC.....	Danish Refugee Council
DFID.....	The Department for International Development is a United Kingdom
EAC.....	East African community
IDS.....	Institute for Development Studies of the University of Sussex
IOs.....	International Organizations
ICCPR.....	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
LGAs.....	Local Government Authorities
MP.....	Member of Parliament
NEP.....	North-Eastern Province
NaSCIP.....	National Strategy for Community Integration Programme
NNTs.....	Newly Naturalized Tanzanians
OAU.....	The Organization of African Unity
TANSPLI.....	Tanzania Strategy for Local Integration Program for the New Citizens
TANCOSS.....	<i>Tanzania Comprehensive Solutions Strategy</i>
UNHCR.....	The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UPRONA.....	The Union for National Progress is a nationalist political party
UN.....	The United Nations
SLA.....	Sustainable Livelihood Approach
SACCOS.....	Savings and Credit Co-Operative Society

## ABSTRACT

Tanzania has a long history of integrating refugees, between the 1960s and 1970s, the country had an open refugee policy that made the country flexible in dealing with refugee issues (Milner 2014:558). In recent years, Tanzania has rethought its open refugee policy and introduced a more restrictive policy (Milner 2014) and introduced restrict policy as such repatriation aimed to safeguard Tanzania interest (Milner 2014:558). Between 2007 and 2014, there have been a number of issues challenging Tanzanias naturalization process such as influence from politicians and political parts. The most notably political influence is the 2005 presidential election which put President Kikwete into power who promised closing down three major refugee' camps such as Mtabila, Katumba and Mishamo and repatriate Burundian refugees (Milner 2014:559). In later years, this promise led to a discussion with UNHCR which developed to Tripartite Commission to facilitate the closure of the camps.

In search for durable solutions for protracted refugees, in 2008, the UNHCR used the three pillars (i.e. repatriation, integration and resettlement) to give refugees who have been in exile for 17 years a priority to either be repatriated to Burundi or integrated in Tanzania. About 46,000 refugees opted to be repatriated to Burundi while 162,156 refugees opted to be integrated (Milner 2014:553). Despite such efforts to repatriate and integrate such huge population, the newly naturalized Tanzanians faced some impediments. In 2010, two years later, the policy was considered a success after the approval of 162,156 naturalization applications (Milner 2014:554).

Ulyankulu is located in North-West part of Tanzania in a region called Tabora. It is one of the three refugee sites known as 'old settlements. The other two are known as Mishamo in Rukwa region and Katumba found at south-west Tanzania at Mbeya region. Ulyankulu administrative area is called Kaliua, one of the Tabora districts with estimated population of 393,358 (Miletzki: 2014). To understand the NNTs livelihood, this theses identified four resources which include the natural resources such as air, land, soil, etc. other resources include financial like money, social networks, influence and human capital. In a search for validation for my study. In relation to such resources, the issue of spatiality, liminality and identity among integrated community emerged. Here I have explained how local integration shape identity of both host community and NNTs and how the interact. I also discussed the de facto and de jure citizenship from the experience learned by NNTs in Tanzania.

There are different informalities identified during my study in Ulyankulu. These informalities include socio-cultural inequalities, political, economic and spatial informalities. Socio-cultural informalities include sexual abuse, forced marriage/early marriage, patriarchal system whereby man rule over women in socio-economic aspects in households. Some of the main economic informalities include the corruption, excessive and unnecessary taxes, poor infrastructures, tough business regulations. Political informality focus more on local political leaders within the settlement emerged. From the study however, It was not only a desire for a counselor, but a counsellor with Burundian origin as a landmark and a symbolic Burundian-state within a foreign country. The spatial informality emerged which include difficulties on accessing building permits, corruptions and resource allocation. There are some cultural diffusion and genealogyl among newly naturalized Tanzanians and their host communities. Here I engaged and explained how local and NNTs cultures affect and compromise with each other and explain the power



relationships among NNTs especially those from upper zone and lower zones in Burundi and how their historical backgrounds contribute to this tension even in asylum. I have also highlighted the issues of ancestry and belonging on how the current generation view their history and how it affects their current and future livelihood within the camp and outside.

Different data collection techniques were used to collect data such as unstructured interviews, observation, focus group discussion and sampling methods. A knowledgeable field assistant used to help me throughout the fieldstudy. Different sampling methods, such as snowballing/referral sampling, convenient sampling, and purposive sampling were used to obtain the sample size. The total sample was 38 people were selected to represent the 162,000 naturalized Tanzanians (Milner 2014;560). This selection of sample was based on age, gender and ethnicity/origin of the respondents. This thesis aims to answer the following research questions. How do Newly Naturalized Tanzanians in Ulyankulu village experience their livelihoods as new citizens after they have been integrated into the local community? how does naturalization impact on former refugees' livelihoods and socio-economic position? how do local communities in Ulyankulu village perceive the integration of the Newly Naturalized Tanzanians? And how do the local communities in Ulyankulu village view the future of the integration in comparison to encampment?

**Keyword:** Integration, Newly Naturalized Tanzanians, Livelihood, Sustainability, Host Community.

## **CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND INFORMATION:**

### **1.1 Introduction:**

This thesis aims at examining how Newly Naturalized Tanzanians experience their life as Tanzanian citizens. In recent years, Tanzania has rethought its open refugee policy and introduced a more restrictive policy (Milner 2014). In mid 1990s for instance, Tanzania closed its borders with Burundi and Rwanda to prevent further refugees from coming into the country. This later on led to the introduction of 1998 Refugees Act and the 2003 National Refugee Policy as such repatriation measures that act to safeguard Tanzania interest (Milner 2014:558) were put in place. Between 2007 and 2014, there have been a number of issues challenging Tanzania's naturalization process. These challenges have been influenced by a number of factors such as individual politicians and political parts. The most notably political influence is the 2005 presidential election which put President Kikwete into power. In order to fulfil his campaign promise made during the election, the former Tanzanian President Kikwete asserted on the possibilities of closing three major refugee' camps such as Mtabila, Katumba and Mishamo and repatriate Burundian refugees (Milner 2014:559). In later years, this promise led to a discussion with UNHCR which developed to Tripartite Commission to facilitate the closure of the camps. However, as (Milner 2014:559) put it, this discussion caught UNHCR off-guard as they didn't expect such discussion to be brought up. This surprising proposal from Tanzanian government made UNHCR claim that, some of the camps that had to be closed, were not part of UNHCR support since 1980s (Milner 2014:559). According to UNHCR, such camps including Katumba, Mishamo and Ulyankulu were independent and self-sustained. As a result of this meeting, UNHCR suggested that, to deal with the situation, there should be an effective strategy to deal with the refugee crisis. Thus, *Tanzania Comprehensive Solutions Strategy* (TANCOSS) was developed to deal with refugees' issues (Milner 2014:559). These agreements, later on, led to census, refugee's registration, and assessment of socio-economic activities to check the economic activities taking place in the settlements (Milner 2014:559). From the same census, refugees were asked to choose between repatriation or naturalized, over 70% chose to be naturalized says (Milner 2014:559). This thesis therefore aims at examining how Newly Naturalized Tanzanians experience their livelihoods as Tanzanian citizens. I also examine power relations, how NNTs settled, how they deal with informality, and how they resolve conflict and insecurity. I also focus on how the livelihood situation of the Newly Naturalized Tanzanians differ or resemble that one of the local Tanzanians. Here, I analyse how are social services such as education, employment and health are distributed between NNTs and host communities.

The Tripartite Commission was assigned by UNHCR to facilitate and oversee the implementation of the three pillars (Milner 2014:560). The first pillar involved the repatriation of 46,000 refugees to Burundi while the second pillar involved facilitating the citizenship applications for approximately 162,000 refugees who wished to be naturalized in Tanzania (Milner 2014:560). On the other hand, the third pillar was to relocate the naturalized population. For UNHCR to implement such relocation, financial and technical support was needed, UNHCR called upon USD 34 million which later on built up to USD 350 million that was proposed to relocate the newly naturalized population. This amount was later reduced to USD 103 million after several negotiations

between stakeholders. Such amount was distributed not only to support settlement and relocation in 16 regions, but also provision of social services such as water, agriculture, education and health services to improve the livelihood of the newly naturalized Tanzanians (NNTs). Such process resulted into launching of different livelihood programs such as the National Strategy for Community Integration Programme (NaSCIP) as argued by (Milner 2014:561). As a result, about 76,000 were prepared and shifted to newly established settlements elsewhere in Tanzania. The question remains how many of the targeted population benefit from such a program, how well were they prepared economically and socially? How well were the Tanzanians prepared to welcome such population?

## **1.2 History of Integration in Tanzania:**

Tanzania has a long history of integrating refugees, between the 1960s and 1970s, the country had an open refugee policy that made the country flexible in dealing with refugee issues (Milner 2014:558). At the same time, due to such open policy there was a large number of refugees coming from Rwanda and Burundia. This flexibility provided an opportunity for the naturalization of 36,000 Rwandese refugees in 1980s (Milner 2014:558) and over 3,000 particular group of Somali Bantu refugees who stayed in Tanzania since 1991 (UNHCR: 17/10/2014). Due to such flexibility and the open refugee's policy, refugees were able to own land, establish settlements, engaged into economic and social activities without restrictions as they were seen to contributing to the national economies (Milner 2014:558). There are many reasons to why Tanzania implemented such open refugee policy. For instance, in the 1970s, there was a spirit of Pan-Africanism, a movement advocated by African leaders across the continent such as Julius Nyerere with a desire to unify Africans. This was viewed as an opportunity by policy makers to establish self-reliance settlements which will later on lead into naturalization (Milner 2014:562). Moreover, In between 2007 and 2008, the East African community (EAC) welcomed Rwanda and Burundi to join the community, and thus the naturalization of Burundi refugees was a good gesture for the newly welcomed members (Milner 2014:563). Moreover, naturalization was seen as one of the measures for peacebuilding in Burundi hence encouraged by the EAC member states and other stakeholders (Milner 2014:563).

### **1.2.1 Burundi Refugees and NNTs in Tanzania:**

The Republic of Burundi is a landlocked country located on the outskirts of Lake Tanganyika, one of the longest lakes in Africa (Nkurunziza J; 2018). On the upper part, the country is bordering another small state of Rwanda and Uganda. On the south-east it is bordering Tanzania and on the west side is located at the edge of Congo DRC. The country has a total land of 27,834 km<sup>2</sup> and has a population size of about 10,524,117 people, only 13% of the population is located in urban areas (World Bank Report; 2019). Burundi is a densely populated country with high relative emigration especially among the young generation who migrate to look for better life and opportunities elsewhere. It has a good landscape such as mountains Heha, valleys and plateau which provides rich soil for agriculture. Due to the large amount of people living in rural areas, a high level of soil erosion and deforestation has been one of the long-term environmental problems the country is facing. Burundi is divided into 18 provinces each with its capital town with an average population of 200,000 to 800,000 people. Burundi is made up of different ethnic groups, the main three include Hutu who make 85% of the country population, Tutsi

(14%) and Twa 1% (Groeslsem, R; 1995). The official language spoken is Kirundi; however French and English are some of the official spoken languages. From its early history, Burundi, like many other African countries has a long history of civil wars and internal conflicts, this can be recorded before the arrival of colonial rules. In late 16th century, the country had already developed its governance system with well-organized monarchy rulers and the emperor which was coordinated in state form (Strachan H; 2001). Under hierarchical authority, the kings (Mwami) who had political powers to command the army and seize control over production, distribution of resources such as land, water and other important resources obtained through taxation and tributes from their subjects most of whom were farmers and herders (Vandeginste, S; 2010). These Mwami, were succeeded by their princes, which later on led to struggle for succession among princes, until the 20th century, these struggles had led to several assassinations and coup attempts marked a series of instabilities in the country (Vandeginste S; 2010). Being the dominant ethnic groups, the Hutu, Twa and Tutsi carry a long history from the 16th century before the arrival of the colonists. The first colonial rulers were Germany from 20th century and later on Belgium took over (Weinstein W. and Robert S; 1976). Politically, Burundi had its first democratic political election on 8th September 1961. This election gave victory to a multi-ethnic party 'UPRONA' led by Prince Rwagasore which won the election for over 80% of the votes (United States Department of State; 2008). In 1st July 1962, Burundi claimed its independence from Belgium and sought to separate from the Ruanda-Urundi union. This came in the same time when their neighboring brothers Rwanda removed colonial rule through a Revolution which influenced Burundi political parties and leaders such as Mwami Mwambutsa to push for independence. The country gained its political autonomy and had its first president; however a long history of assassination continued to affect the stability of the newly established Burundi. In November 1966, Prime Minister and Chief of Staff Michel Micombero deposed king Ntaze Ndizeye and abolished the monarchy i establishing a republic through a coup d'état (United States Department of State; 2008).

To understand the current conflicts, discourse in Burundi, I first need to understand the traditional and historical ontological background between Hutu and Tutsi and most importantly to understand how the two ethnic groups fall under hostile relationship. Moreover, we need to disclose how the colonial hegemony and its legacy corrupted, impacted and facilitated these hostilities among the two powerful groups in Burundi. Before colonization Burundi had a monarchical system of governance with an army, kings, princes and another traditional leader. and tributes from their subjects most of whom were farmers and herders. The power struggle at this time, among different ethnic groups or sometimes members of the same ethnic groups, mark the very starting point for the current civil war discourse in Burundi. There are a number of theoretical assumptions about the causes of civil war in Burundi. One of the assumptions was whether the conflicts was originally sparked by ethnicity background, or rather the colonial influence and policies such as 'divide and rule policy' in Africa: Turner (2010;25). However, despite these two contrasting arguments, the fact still remains, the main cause was based on ethnicity background which might have been propelled by colonial policies. This according to Turner (2010) can be proved by the fact that, the Tutsi-dominated government units from colonial era until early 1990s. This led to the denial of other ethnic groups, which led to unequal power relation, social classes, discrimination, oppression and pride among local ruling class and their fellow civilians or as Turner called it "the colonial production of citizens and subjects" Turner (2010:26). Soon after independence in 1962 and later on in the 1960s, a shift in power was said to have triggered the new

form of civil conflict and uncertainties in the country. This was after Micombero took power through an act of coup gave rise to the new tensions among ethnic groups. The tensions escalated and became formalized after the Hima Tutsi dominated government and those in power worked hard to mask the evils and discrimination among ethnic groups Turner (2010:27).

“During the 1960s the Hima elite from the south continued its struggle to purge the country of monarchists and other counter - revolutionary forces. Intra-Tutsi competition resulted in the Hima from Bururi blaming the Banyaruguru from the north for creating an alliance with the Hutu in order to reinstall the monarchy. In this way, any ‘softness’ vis-a-vis the Hutu would be interpreted as counter-revolutionary and monarchist.” ~ Turner S. (2010)

Micombero’s regime tried to prevent ethnic divisions by stopping people from identifying themselves as Hutu or Tutsi by claiming that it will weaken the national unit and it will be embracing the colonial legacy, anyone who was caught identifying themselves Hutu or Tutsi were accused of disturbing the peace Turner (2010:27). Following this ideological propaganda that ethnicity in colonial contrivance, the Micombero’s government issued a policy which was known as the “white paper” which allegedly contributed to the 1972 genocide when unprivileged ethnic groups fought back to oppressive policy toward them. Apart from the policy toward national unity, which in real sense was an instrument used by the tutsi minority to maintain power and their supremacy over the other tribes, there was an issue of modernity, developmentalist and anti-imperialist ideologies Turner (2010:27). These postcolonial cultures inherited from colonial rulers, gave more opportunities to Tutsi to have easy access to good western education, white color jobs among others. This led to fear and later revenge against the Tutsi by Hutu who were depicted as against the national unity and introduced majority rule. Between 1970s and 1990s a number of genocide and civil wars were recorded, leaving thousands of Burundians to flee to neighboring countries. In 1988, the National Commission to Study the Question of the National Unity (The commission Nationale Chargee d'Etudier la Question de l'Unite Nationale) studied the massacre in Ntega and Marangara States highlighted a number of people refused to take part in the massacre that attempted to kill thousands of people. The Hutu claimed they were not type of citizens to kill their own Tutsi brothers as argued by Turner (2010:29). In early 1992, a Tutsi opposition leader known as Pierre Buyoya drafted a constitution which call upon reform of the political spectrum by introducing a multipartism political system. A year later, on 21st October 1993, a Hutu democratically elected president was killed by Tutsi military officer thus marking the first spark of massacre (Turner;2010). In 1998, a change in the constitution was made with a provision for two vice presidents. Later on, in the 2000s it was then decided that, Burundi should adapt the traditional governing system. In 2015, the world witnessed another political dissension when the current President Pierre Nkurunziza announced his willingness to extend his power, as it had always been, another coup was organized and failed leaving the country into, yet another civil war led to over 100,000 civilians fled to neighboring countries. The struggle was not only within local ethnic groups, but also the anti-colonialism and decolonization, political ideologies, traditional vs modernity and single party system, diaspora and influence of politicians and international players, militarism as explained by Turner (2010:25).

### **1.3 Problem Statement:**

In search for durable solutions for protracted refugees, in 2008, the UNHCR used the three pillars -- repatriation, integration and resettlement to give refugees who have been

in exile for 17 years a priority to either be repatriated to Burundi or integrated in Tanzania and later on to be relocated elsewhere in or outside the country. About 46,000 refugees opted to be repatriated to Burundi while 162,156 refugees opted to be integrated (Milner 2014:553). In the same year Tanzania government agreed to naturalize part of the 220,000 Burundian refugees lived in the country since 1970s (Milner 2014). This offer was welcomed by the UNHCR who saw a chance to implement a global policy. Despite such efforts to repatriate and integrate such huge population, the newly naturalized Tanzanians faced some impediments. In 2010, two years later, the policy was considered a success after the approval of 162,156 naturalization applications (Milner 2014:554). Despite such developments, the Tanzanian case had faced a number of challenges including opposition from Tanzanian Parliament and poor leadership roles (Milner 2014:554). Nevertheless, there was strong opposition from the LGAs and at the Tanzanian Parliament debates on the naturalization and relocation of Burundian refugees. A number of PMs opposed the process claiming they don't need Burundian to be naturalized. As explained above, initially 162,156 applications (98%) were approved, but following such political opposition, the process was delayed for four years until 2014 which created uncertainty among stakeholders such as UNHCR and uncertainty among NNTs. All of such impediments have in one way or another resulted into challenges to the Tanzanian Naturalization policy as (Milner 2014:554) put it "Some four years later, however, the vast majority of applicants have yet to receive their citizenship papers and the process of naturalization is viewed by many to have stalled." Regardless of all opposition from the Tanzanian Parliament and LGAs, the Tripartite Commission settled in Bujumbura in 2007 decided to proceed with the three pillars of durable solutions (Milner 2014:560). Among the issues settled in Tripartite Commission meeting were the issue of repatriating about 46,000 Burundians back to their home country and secondly to process citizenship applications of 162,156 naturalized refugees (Milner 2014:560). In the year 2015, Tanzania elected a new President, John Magufili, unlike his predecessor Jakaya Kikwete, has negatively responded to the naturalization of Burundian refugees. President Magufili stated that, Burundian refugees should return home because of increased stability (The Citizens: 21st July 2017). This claim has been criticized by a number of international organizations who feel Burundi is not yet as stable as President Magufili's statement suggests. This naturalization process is one that could have many lasting impacts, both on the refugees themselves and on the Tanzanian communities they are settling in. I must begin to understand these proposed solutions and their actual impact, because a fix to the refugee crisis is more than needed for a safer region and global stability. All of these challenges and happenings have created a sense of tension, fear, uncertainty and confusion among NNTs; many of these already vulnerable. Despite the naturalization process running for several years, there is very little knowledge of the impact or progress of this process.

#### **1.4 Research Question:**

How do Newly Naturalized Tanzanians in Ulyankulu village experience their livelihoods as new citizens after they have been integrated into the local community?

1. How does naturalization impact on former refugees' livelihoods and socio-economic position?
2. How do local communities in Ulyankulu village perceive the integration of the Newly Naturalized Tanzanians?

3. How do the local communities in Ulyankulu village view the future of the integration in comparison to encampment?

### **1.5 Study Location (Ulyankulu in Tabora):**

Ulyankulu is one of Tanzania's remote areas with a refugee's history. It is said to be one of the places hosting a great number of Newly Naturalized Population in Tanzania (Dr. J. Masabo; personal interview 1). Ulyankulu is located in the North-West part of Tanzania in a region called Tabora. It is one of the three refugee sites known as 'old settlements'. The other two are known as Mishamo in the Rukwa region and Katumba found at south-west Tanzania at Mbeya region. Ulyankulu administrative area is called Kaliua, one of the Tabora districts with an estimated population of 393,358 (Miletzki: 2014). Kaliua district is located on the west of Igunga and North of Uyui district. On the northern side Kaliua where Ulyankulu is found borders Kahama district while on the Eastern side it borders Urambo district. As per the 2012 Tanzania National Census, Kaliua has a population size of 393,358. According to (Miletzk:2014) about 44,958 refugees (78%) and later on NNTs in Ulyankulu were born in Tanzania and only 9,222 refugees (22%) came in from Burundi in the 1970s. Ulyankulu, despite of its importance in regard to protracted refugees in the region, fewer studies have been conducted. In fact, there are very limited number of in-depth studies done before in Ulyankulu. Being one of the three old settlements including Katumba, Mishamo and Ulyankulu, the most notable study was done where Malkki (1995a). This research is therefore aiming to contribute to a long integration debate by invoking an initiative to undergo an ethnographic study in Ulyankulu.

Geographically Ulyankulu is rich in natural vegetation, on its western side, there are the mountains and trees of various kinds. There are water streams that pass from hills around Ulyankulu. The roads that connect Ulyankulu settlement and other parts of the country are made up of murrum. Most lanes heading or linking to the settlement are rough roads and very slippery during the rainy season. One of the reasons I decided to do my thesis in this area was because of its history regarding the NNTs. This is one of the most popular areas of the NNTs since the early 1980s and. Due to the lack of supervision of UNHCR, it has also been one of my main reasons to go to do my research in this area. The ultimate goal is to see how the NNTs survive on their own without UNHCR's involvement. Another reason to choose Ulyankulu was to study the welfare of NNTs after they have acquired citizenship and still being deprived of some of their rights as other citizens. Most areas of Ulyankulu have farms for agriculture, farming is one of the main sources of income for most of the NNTs and host population. In the town center, there are shops, salons, guesthouses, houses of worship, government schools, civil servants' houses, government offices such as the head of settlement house etc. Life in general is as normal as in other parts of Tanzania. Businesses exist and many are self-employed. The security situation exists and this, in my opinion, stems from the existence of a national security agency. Transportation is available although it is not adequate. From Ulyankulu to other cities and towns like Tabora, it can take approximately up to two and a half hours. There is one bus stop, most travelers spend two hours waiting for the bus to fill up. By the time I arrived at Ulyankulu, there was moderate rain, the soil was moist especially during the rainy season. But during the dry season, the soil has a lot of dust and a fair amount of moisture. During the day the weather is warm and cool during the night. Most of the inhabitants are Naturalized citizens with Burundi origin. There are some who have come

since the 1980s and have been living there since then and there are others who were born and raised there.

### **Structure of the thesis**

This thesis is divided into five sections and comprised of eight chapters. The first block contains chapter one in which an overview of background information and key definitions and concepts is presented, as well as the problem statement and my research questions. The second chapter contains theoretical framework which use different concepts and literature from different scholars to review and understand the key concepts of NNT's livelihood in Ulyankulu. The third section presents the methods which were used during the field visit in Ulyankulu Tanzania. Here different data collection techniques such as interviews and observation and study limitations have been presented. The fourth session focus on empirical presentation of the findings collected from the field, presented in chapters. Here a careful selection of the sub-headings such as how do NNTs deal with informality was made to be able to capture the necessary and relevant data collected from the field. The fifth session includes the conclusion and recommendation. Here a reflection on research questions and theoretical concepts has been used to conclude whether global policy such as the UNHCR's durable solution produce positive and intended results.



## **CHAPTER TWO: THEORIZING THE CONCEPTS (LITERATURE REVIEW):**

### **2.1 Introduction:**

This chapter examines how local integration contributes to the formation of multiple identities and explains how it shapes life among NNTs. Moreover, this chapter attempts to put into context the theoretical framework on how space in such environments contribute to how NNTs maneuver their daily livelihoods and social life. Furthermore, I examined how NNTs settled within the settlement and how they deal with informalities and conflict issues between them, host communities and Local Government Authorities (LGAs). My discussions rely on two main theoretical frameworks. On one hand, I explain the concept of 'Primordialism' which theorizing NNTs ethnic background and their identity (previous nationality). I have built my argument by referring to the three major integration aspects i.e. social integration, economic integration and legal integration (Development and Training Services, Inc. (dTS: 2014) and how they contribute to the livelihood of the NNTs in Tanzania.

### **2.2 The Local Integration, Livelihood and Identity:**

Allen and Turton (1996) suggested that, the ultimate goal of most refugees in most places is to secure a safe haven in which they could have an opportunity to live in and integrate and find jobs to attain good life (livelihood) regardless of which country they are destined (national identity). Most literature such as elaborated by the Development and Training Services (2014), local integration illustrates three major aspects in the naturalization process which include social, economic and legal aspects. In other words,intergrated refugees are entitled to a minimum standard of social, economic, and legal rights within the host country (Development and Training Services, Inc. (dTS: 2014) in order to survive. Through economic integration, refugees are allowed to take part in economic activities or production system such as access to land and farming. They can also be employed as casual labor or self-employed to attain minimum living standards (self-sufficiency). They can also get involved in trade and marketing activities as any other citizens. On the other hand, the social integration involves social relation through which different social practices between the host communities and refugees are exercised. This means,the NNTs can be integrated without being discriminated, oppressed, intimidated or restrained. They can participate in national events, share ethnic values and religious ceremonies, value local traditions, they can inter-marry, speak same language with host communities and to a lesser extent share political benefits such as participating in civil society, local and central government and non-government services (Crisp, 2004:1-2). According to (dTS: 2014) social integration is a reciprocal intervention between the host community and NNTs to create and maintain social bonds and links within the host community. On the legal integrating the refugees gain extensive span of legal rights and entitlements that may result in acquisition of permanent residence rights and ultimately acquire citizenship (Crisp, 2004:1-2). Some of the legal integration benefits include residence and work permits (as we saw in economic integration above), traveling documents such as passports, freedom of movement before they can officially become citizens/permanent residents (dTS: 2014). As explained above, one integration process can work perfectly in combination with other process or else they can complement each other (dTS:2014). For example, most of the times, there is a direct link between legal and economic integration, one needs to have a residence permit in order to get employed. The

economic integration can also interlink with social integration in various ways, for instance economic integration can foster social integration such that trade relation among local and NNTs which can also result into inter-marriages. All these working together create safety and security among NNTs which are among the most important factors for durable solutions. NNTs must feel safe and secure in order to locally integrate (dTS:2014). “If harassment, discrimination, violent, and/or criminal acts are a constant threat to a refugee, his or her ability to integrate economically, socially, and/or legally will be severely constrained” (Kuhlman, 1993:3).

Building on these integration concepts, I have analyzed the Burundi naturalization situation in relation to their livelihood experience in Tanzania. To start with, I have tried to conceptualize the issue of hosting relation between NNTs and local Tanzanians. I have done this by analyzing how the situation is on the group using the work of Danish Refugee Council (DRC: 2017). Historically, the relationship between Tanzanian communities especially those living at the borders with Burundi has a long history before the civil wars in Burundi (DRC: 2017). In general, the relationship between the two countries can not only be viewed from hosting refugees-local perspective, but also how it goes beyond that neighborhood relation (DRC: 2017). The Tanzania-Burundi neighboring communities have been involved in a number of cross-border activities both socially and economically for quite some time. For instance, trade and transport have been prevailing among the two communities for a long time, inter-marriages cases have also been noted among citizens from the two states, there have been historical, socio-cultural and economic networks among the neighbors (DRC: 2017). This chapter seeks to examine the broad context of local integration by theorizing how livelihood and relationship between host community and NNTs contribute to the big picture of durable solution. When referring to host community, it should be known that, it does not refer all Tanzanians, but even if that notion is correct, Tanzanians at large (as host communities) have different categories and/or opinions on how the country is affected socially and geographically by hosting refugees (DRC: 2017; p15). Therefore, according to the DRC, such category can rather be classified based on those communities which directly influence, affect and interact socially, economically, legally and politically with NNTs. In such a scenario, these communities feel somehow obliged to be involved in all crucial decisions relate to NNTs or refugees. One local citizen from Kasanda ward in Kigoma was quoted “the president could not decide to grant citizenship to Burundians without consulting us, since we are the ones hosting them” (DRC: 2017; p15). Most of the times the discourse explaining the existing tension between host communities and refugees, asylums, migrants or NNTs are normally justified by framing based on host community’s comfortability, fear, threat and violence posed by such outsiders (Howarth, A. and Ibrahim, Y: 2012). Further emphasizing on how relationship exist between host communities and integrated refugees (Sharon S. Nambuya, Joseph Okumu and Ronald Pagnucco; 2018) wrote: “Interaction with refugees can produce tensions and conflict, or it can produce peaceful co-existence” In Kasanda village for instance, which is located in the northern part of Tanzania, another local villager was quoted complained how their livelihoods have been affected by hosting refugees:

“Kasanda village is especially affected [by refugees in Mtendeli]. First because it’s close to the camp, second because most farms are near the camp and third because people of Kasanda do not take as tough of a stand against them [refugees], they just take them to the police [when found outside], but in other villages they might beat them or even kill them. Also, the most fertile land is in Kasanda so many of the people from Kasanda ward farm here”. ~ (DRC: 2017; p15)

It is also important to note that, the tension between host communities and refugees oscillate as both parts play victims and offenders. Furthermore, most of such tensions cut across two main aspects i.e. societal and economic aspects which have a direct impact on the livelihood of those living in proximity from the settlements and the camps (DRC: 2017). In Kigoma for instance, most host communities located in the periphery with limited government office have complained that the refugees/NNTs presence have caused social and economic destruction in their villages, hence affecting their livelihood. (Gaim Kibreab 1999) postulates further highlighting how most of such local communities tend to have a stereotypical perspective toward Burundian refugees. He claimed, most host communities in Kigoma identify Burundian refugees as conflict-oriented with violent backgrounds, hence categorize them as dangerous to others. On the other hand, the refugees have also complained about how they have been mistreated by their host communities. (Gaim Kibreab 1999) claimed most refugees live at the mercy of the immigration authorities, the police and the security officers.

Most NNTs are said to live with traumatized experience, they are said to have very poor standards of dealing with their host communities in a peaceful manner. They are located in isolated rural areas with limited social services, this situation minimizes their ability to socialize with their host. For example if they settled in a place where they were not supposed to settle (towns areas), they were subjected to harassment, imprisonment or repatriation (Malkki; 1995). In case the refugees resisted this policy, they were subjected to forced repatriation, or it means they would not be employed, travel freely, or getting trade permits. They may be prohibited from owning immovable property or establish open social networks (Malkki 1995) or as (Judith Butler: 2015) claimed "That is, they enact certain political distinctions, including inequality and exclusion, without always naming them". If such refugees happen to reside in town area and happen to have job, they are normally involved in such jobs in a furtive way by hiding their true identity. And if they are caught, most of the time, they are forced to lie and reject their true Burundian identity (Kibreab 1999). According to Malkki as quoted by Kibreab, the town refugees tendency to deny their identity "was a facade devised to mislead in order to avoid the risk of deportation, police harassment, public stigma and bullying, as well as to gain access to employment and self-employment opportunities, market spots, and the rights of freedom of movement" (Malkki 1995). As reported by (dTS 2014), most of Burundian refugees who wait to obtain their citizenship or being integrated, were curious to get their certificates and obtain full rights as any other Tanzanian citizens. They anticipated their life to change from movement restrictions to freedom of movement and relocate to other parts of the country or elsewhere across the globe. They also anticipated a full right to freely acquire jobs without permits, they hope their children will be able to be admitted to schools and universities without restrictions, they also anticipate to gain political power and ability to vote and participate in the democratic process and have access to resources such as obtaining title deeds for their land and households (dTS: 2014).

### **2.3 Sustainable Livelihood Approach: (Social, Human, Natural and Economical Capital)**

In order to operationalize the concepts of livelihood, it is important to have a look at the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) as discussed by Robert Chambers and Gordon Conway. According to Chambers et al; (1991) the concept of livelihood can simply be defined as "a mean of gaining a living". There are three concepts that subsequently appear in the formulation of the Sustainable livelihoods Approach, these include (i) the capability

concept, (ii) equity and (iii) sustainability concept. Chambers and Conway argue capability concept is an end and also a means of livelihood — this means it is ‘the essence of livelihood in any community — the influence/ways or one's ability to attain the end results’ (or capability). On the other hand, (Chamber et al; 1991) claimed equity concept refers to an adequate and decent livelihood experience which facilitate both means and an end through assets availability (resources) and access to them. Lastly, the (Chambers et al 1991) claimed Sustainability has both means and an end but with one unique character, it provides stewardship and guideline for future uses. Combining all these three elements i.e. capability, equity and sustainability, (Chambers et al 1991) defines Livelihood as “adequate stocks and flows of food and cash to meet basic needs”. In nutshell, livelihood involves security, housing, resource accessibility, asset possession, adequate and sustainable stock flows for present and future generations. The above description of the sustainable livelihoods Approach as defined by Chambers and Conway have greatly contributed in different schools of thought among scholars, researchers and IOs such as Institute for Development Studies (IDS) of the University of Sussex and Department for International Development (DFID) as discussed by (Krantz L; 2001).

However, Chambers and Conway made it seem very broad and general, as a result more effort has been done to redefining the concept to be more analytical and operational. For instance some of the additional recommendations by IDS and DFID were the livelihood resources as they claimed “ the basic material and social, tangible, and intangible assets that people use for constructing their livelihoods — are conceptualized as different types of ‘capital’ to stress their role as a *resource base*” (Krantz L; 2001). As such, IDS identified further four types of capitals to demonstrate Chamber and Conway’s concepts — which are (a) Natural Capital (b) Economic or financial capital (c) Human capital and (d) Social Capital. The Natural resources comprises the natural stocks such as mineral, air, forest, soil and water bodies among others through which resource flows for livelihoods (Krantz L; 2001). The Human Capital on the other hand involves the individual skills, people’s knowledge (technical know-how), individual ability to work are some of the key aspects for a successful pursuit of proper livelihood (Krantz L; 2001). The Financial/Economic Capital mainly based on monetary aspects such as direct use of cash, credit/debt services, banking savings among other economic activities and assets. This also includes the basic production infrastructures and equipment which are also vital for the attainment of any livelihood strategy (Krantz L; 2001). Lastly, the social capital involves the networks as Krantz put it “social claims, social relations, affiliations, associations upon which people draw when pursuing different livelihood strategies requiring coordinated actions”. The main argument behind such different types of capital is the combination of different capitals to earn a livelihood as described by Krantz “Distinguishing between different types of ‘capital assets’ draws attention to the variety of resources, which are often used in combination, that people rely on for making a living”. It’s should also be noticed that, all things remain equal, the livelihood among individuals might differ depending on other factors such as household education level, network, income level, assets possessed among others.

## **2.4 Local Integration in other countries: Experience learned from Uganda and Kenya:**

### **2.4.1 Uganda Self-reliance Refugees Policy:**

Uganda, as Tanzania, has a long history of hosting refugees from its neighboring states notably Congo DRC, South Sudan, Burundi and Rwanda (Sharon S. Nambuya, Joseph

Okumu and Ronald Pagnucco: 2018). It hosts refugees in different locations across the country in places such as Hoima, Bweyale, Kabale, Bundibugyo, Masindi among others in western Uganda since the late 1950s. Kiryandongo settlement is one of the most known Uganda refugee settlements. As it is in Tanzania, local integration in Uganda faces similar challenges as its neighbor country Tanzania. For instance, in a study done by (Nambuya S. et al: 2018) shows how the legal integration in Kiryandongo settlement got stalled. However they claimed the socio-cultural integration and perhaps economic integration has been a success as they put it “A large majority of refugee respondents in Kiryandongo interact with members of the host community and some are involved in joint projects and partnerships, such as businesses, with them” (Nambuya S. et al: 2018). Accounting on their argument, the experience learned by refugees or those integrated while cohabiting with the local inhabitants is harmonious. As much as Uganda has similar characteristics with regards its neighbor countries like Tanzania. It is however having something different to offer. In most countries including Tanzania, most of the refugees are kept in special camps and settlements. The situation is different in Uganda, here, the new arrival is allowed to live freely in surrounding villages as they interact socially, economically and culturally with the local (Nambuya S. et al: 2018). This means, local are equally permitted to move and interact with the refugees freely across the country as Nambuya S. et al: 2018 stated that “While many countries keep refugees in camps away from citizens, Uganda allows them to set up businesses, work for others, and to move freely around the country where refugees have lived since the 1950s. On arrival in Uganda, most refugees are settled in rural areas called refugee settlements under the Office of the Prime Minister”.

Unlike Tanzania where the government poses strict restriction of movement with full control of almost every aspect of refugees and integrated, in Uganda says (Nambuya S. et al: 2018) “After being registered as refugees, each refugee is immediately allocated a plot of land and building materials for a basic home, and given food aid and access to basic health and education services.” the question remains, how do Ugandans (and the government) view the issues of outsiders and national security? Does it mean same outsiders could be a threat in one country and not in the other? Let’s save this debate for another day. My point here however, is to scrutinize how is it possible protracted refugees or even those who have been granted citizenship in one country could be seen as a threat and those who have just arrived within a week are set free and given plot of land and building materials to start a new life as they put it “This is known as Uganda’s “self-reliance” policy which emphasizes livelihoods and self-help over aid to refugees” (Nambuya S. et al: 2018). As good as the refugee’s self-help or self-reliance policy sounds and as much as UNHCR heal as one of the durable solutions, (Nambuya S. et al: 2018) argue it’s not sufficient component to qualify refugees for permanent resident and automatically lead to full Ugandan citizenship. The Ugandan self-help refugee’s policy in some ways have improved refugees/integrated refugees’ livelihood such as housing, food production, access to education and health system, employment and other socio-economic activities. From the experience learned elsewhere in the region, the process of local integration face a number of challenges one being poor interaction among local and Newly naturalized citizens (see above), according to (Nambuya S. et al: 2018), one of the most important components of a true integration to succeed, is the role played by the peaceful interaction between local community and integrated refugees something which is missing in some Ugandans neighboring countries.

#### **2.4.2 Kenya Refugees Integration: A Case study in Kakuma and Dadaab:**

Kenya as most other east African countries has hosted thousands of refugees since 1960s as written by Sorcha O'Callaghan and Sturge Georgina: (2018). Kenya is among member states that comply with the 1969 The Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention, the 1951 Convention in regard to the Refugees Status and the Protocol of 1967 (O' Callaghan S. et al: 2018). Most of refugees at this period were mainly from Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan, Burundi, Rwanda, DRC and Uganda (O' Callaghan S. et al: 2018). Majority of Ugandan refugees in 1990s came in following the Ugandan 1970s political instability. In 1992 for instance, almost 300,000 refugees were Somalis which was the first huge influx in Kenya's history (O' Callaghan S. et al: 2018 as quoted Abuya, 2007). With such favorable policy refugees were able to work, move, settled and access education anywhere in Kenya (O' Callaghan S. et al: 2018). To many this may seem as an obvious phenomenon due to the fact that, most of Ugandan refugees in the 1990s were skilled and professional intellectuals something which attracted Kenya's interest (O' Callaghan S. et al: 2018). By mid of 2017, Kenya was said to have hosted approximately 490,656 refugees and asylum-seekers while those who came in from Somalia alone reached up to 304,892 (O' Callaghan S. et al: 2018 as quoted UNHCR, 2017b). Currently around 29,894 refugees from DRC inhabit Kenya while 101,713 refugees are said to entered from South Sudan (O' Callaghan S. et al: 2018). Kakuma and Dadaab alone are said to host about 423,389 refugees (O' Callaghan S. et al: 2018). An estimation of about 67,267 refugees reside in urban areas such as Nairobi. Sorcha O'Callaghan and Sturge Georgina, in their study, tried to determine what are the impacts of Somalis refugees in host communities in Dadaab and Kakuma in Kenya. Such huge amount of influx forced the Kenyan government to revisit its integration policy and move towards the refugee's encampment policy as it was case to their neighbor Tanzania.

According to O' Callaghan et al, there are a number of reasons that influenced such shift of refugees policy. One of the reasons was the security issues following a secessionist conflict in North-Eastern Province (NEP) in 1963/1967 whereby Somali (Muslim populations) battled for a greater Somalia. The Kenyan government feared that the conflict might spillover to Kenya's boundaries. Secondly, most of the Somalis refugee in 1990s missed the social and economic characters that Ugandans refugees had i.e. skilled labor, educated and well-trained businessman. Lastly, another factor for such a policy change was as it was to its neighbor Tanzania — Kenya's economic recession led to such changes in refugee policy. Such policy later on led to a drop of refugee's number to 200,000 refugees by 1999 following repatriation of Somali refugee. However, the number rose again between 2006-2012 due to conflict and terrorist militants such as Al Shabab in neighboring states (O' Callaghan S. et al: 2018). In Kenya, there has been limited support provided by the Kenyan government to facilitate the local integration; example the Thika Reception Centre accommodated few hundred refugees (O' Callaghan S. et al: 2018). Instead, that task was largely left to humanitarian organizations alongside faith-based institution such as churches. In Kenya, it's nearly impossible for refugees to be integrated as citizens through proper legal processes. Despite such fact, it should be known there are some refugees, especially outside the camps, were able to gain some sort of de facto integration. Most of whom have access to health and educational systems and are working in informal jobs in urban areas. Apart from the security issues mentioned above, integration has oscillating connotation among scholars and Kenyans. Some Kenyans see it as a burden to their country as refugees steal their jobs, while others see it as a source of economic asset to local economies (O' Callaghan S. et al: 2018). As it is in

Uganda, the refugees-host communities in Kenya in some cases have produced positive results. However, in general, refugees-local community interaction especially in trade and economic has yield positive socio-economic impacts and minimize tension between the two groups. According to O' Callaghan et al, there is evidence shows tension between host and refugees populations caused by available and utilization of resources (O' Callaghan et al: 2018 as quoted Kamau and Fox, 2013; World Bank, 2017) as they put it "Ikanda highlights how the privileging of refugees for humanitarian assistance by aid organizations gives rise to tensions, rather than a dislike of the refugees themselves."

Integration according to O' Callaghan et al 2018, is a "a general condition of stable coexistence within communities, when IDPs, refugees, and host community members accept socio-ethnic differences, have equitable access to livelihoods and other community resources, and feel safe and secure in their homes". They also highlighted key domains of integration as they were quoting Zetter and Rudel (2017), these include legal domain of integration, governance domain, social domain and functional domain. By further subdividing the domains according to (O' Callaghan et al 2018), we end up with two extremes. The legal and governance domains are mostly interest to the host communities, while the social and functional concern refugee experience. In legal and governance domain of integration, there are some issues of restriction such as difficulties in getting business permits among self-reliance refugees, over control of land ownership among others something with tremendous implications on spatiality. In economic integration, in places such as Kakuma and Dadaab, despite restrictions and control by Kenyan authorities, there are trade and business activities involving a number of refugees as (O' Callaghan et al 2018) put it " The vast majority of livelihood opportunities are derived from the microcosm of the camp, made possible through external aid and remittance investments – few refugees are employed outside the camp and in both areas agricultural and charcoal production and livestock holding are limited". When it comes to cultural integration domain, ethnicity, agency, social capital, network, individual capacity/influence and identity plays a key role on how well refugees integrate in local communities.

## **2.5 National Identity, Spatiality and Liminality:**

According to Kibreab, there is a notion among scholars and IOs which assume the process of globalizing the world is characterized by mobility of people, capital or ideas (Kibreab: 1999). This argument, said Kibreab, has led to an eradication of identity which results into global citizenship (Kibreab: 1999). Kibreab continues asserting his point by arguing that "the globalization process has not been accompanied by opening borders to those who are forced to flee in search of safety". To support Kibreab notion, I build my argument through the work of Viera Bacova (1998), she classified national identity into two theoretical concepts i.e. primordial identity and instrumental identity. According to (Bacova: 1998) the primordial is basically an 'ethno-nation' referring to a community that primary goal is to 'unite' individuals' members who share same blood and having common fate. In other words, national identity is constructed and directly attached to the ethnic background of a community i.e. its history. In this case, Burundian Naturalized Hutu and Tutsi in Tanzania and elsewhere can be referred to as ethno-nationalists who share same blood and common fate in Tanzania as their new state. Based on Turner's argument, the life in camps (in this case Ulyankulu settlement) can be an instrument that shapes the livelihood and identity of NNTs. This notion however contradicts UNHCR's idea that NNTs are homogeneous. Historical diversity among Hutu and Tutsi, is the same

as emphasize homogeneity among them. Despite such initiative by UNHCR to promote homogeneity among Hutu and Tutsi, Turner argues, an ethnic self-awareness among Hutu began to emerge as a reaction to the conflict (Reinke Amanda: 2013). He argued there is political and historical diversity among refugees and for our case, among NNTs which in essence it helped them to create their own sovereign-spaces contrary from that of UNHCR.

This chapter, I use the the idea of instrumental identity to analyse ways in which local integration especially in old settlements such as Katumba, Mishamo and Ulyankulu creates forms of social reality which consequently shapes identity, culture, and hegemony among NNTs. According to Simon Turner, the UNHCR alongside other IOs in Lukole, viewed and depicted refugees as blameless, innocent, apolitical, and ahistorical persons. Turner's argument helps us to see how identity formation played a great role in reshaping NNTs identity, ethnicity, culture and history as they strive to integrate into local communities. As victims of history, refugees and eventually NNTs seem to have lost their patience based on how they were labelled (identified) and eventually began to find ways through which they can regain their identity and reclaim their history. As a result, this led to an attempt to reconcile their history, redefining their political lives and reshape their identity while striving to survive in liminal space (Turner 2010). As argued by Turner, there was an attempt by most humanitarian agencies to empower such groups by encouraging participation without reforming existing power structures, using similar line of argument, I have tried to examine how such power relation and structure affects NNTs livelihood outside the camp. Put this into Foucault terms, we see not only identity reshaping of NNTs as innocents, but also biopower politics and governmentality that aim to enact certain group of community through fostering their agency. Referring to what Judith Butler called 'constitutive exclusion' the NNTs undergone an internal exclusion that occur within asocial system. As they fought back to win their identity and reclaim history in a democratic struggle, they became integrated partly what Giorgio Agamben called 'inclusive exclusion'. On the other hand, referring Agamben's concept of 'bare life', we can see the same humanitarian agency use such liminality, vulnerability and victimhood to control some aspects of NNTs such as social, political, economic and cultural life. He continues arguing that, these agencies tend to plan, design and control daily life of such outsiders on how they sleep, what they eat where they could go and how far they could go; hence through such service provision, this hegemony become easily noted. The question here, is how are the NNTs able to sustain themselves? How could the situation be improved to give them better lives? As a result, to overcome such hegemony and labelled identity such as 'bare life' -- young male sought jobs in NGOs and got employed or self-employed, some became local leaders as agents for change and creating a new form of power structure within a liminal space (Turner 2010).

Through primordial theoretical framework, (Bacova: 1998) argues that a nation's identity is basically an 'ethno-nation' referring to a community that primary goal is to 'unite' individuals' members who share same blood and having common fate. According to Turner, as humanitarian agencies tried to create innocent victims without past or historical consideration, they in disguise created what is known as 'tabula rasa'. Turner argued, despite such attempts by UNHCR and other IOs, there was still political, historical and identity struggle as in most cases seen across the continent. The liminal space then became a 'bare life' and 'biopower' took a turn with a hyper-politicized space whereby everyone was now taken part in politics either indirectly or directly. In other words, through agency and self-propelled inclusion, NNTs and refugees tend to reclaim their



power and identity. Turner argues, this led to violence which was assumed was connected to politics causing to spatial demarcation. The NNTs in Tanzania, has a number of spatial issues related to what Turner claims, a number of restrictive policies by Tanzanian authorities as explained above, have put into place restrictions such as the movement restriction as explained by (DRC: 2017) “yet refugees are legally denied movement outside the camps and the possibility of searching for and securing alternative livelihoods” which only allowed refugees to move within that proximity. This spatial and place restriction to those who claimed to NNTs has implications as termed by Agamben “inclusive exclusion”. Here we see some agency — structure dilemma, how such vulnerable population strive to change their identity and livelihood situation by working on alternatives counteractions through changing the political structure (biopolitical) and socio-economic patterns. On the other hand, referring to the issue of identity in relation to integration and livelihood, Turner explained how the Tanzanian and Rwandan culture contaminated that of Burundian. He explained the three causes of moral and social decay including ‘equal rations from UNHCR, the alienating urban nature and cultural contamination’. Furthermore, Turner contended that these three causes have impacts to the identity and history of the Burundian, he argued they laid the foundation for the collapse of gender relation, eroding of generational relations and classes (hierarchies) which Agamben termed ‘bare life’.

## **2.6 De facto and De jure Citizenship: Experience learned by NNTs as Tanzanian citizens.**

Legally speaking, despite tremendous efforts done by the Tanzanian government and development partners to push forward the local integration, there still has been a number of challenges facing the process. The Burundian local integration process in Tanzania, especially the legal integration in places such as Ulyankulu, Mishamo and Katumba, has shown some sense of de facto phenomena. There are some indicators showing struggles to full-legally integrated and socially fit-in as Tanzanians among NNTs. This struggle, nevertheless, came into existence despite the fact that some NNTs had already been registered as Tanzanian citizens. There are some events of exclusion among NNTs, prevailing uncertainty and some sense of belongingness among the NNTs as argued by (Milezki:2014) “They had already registered for Tanzanian citizenship, were referred to as NNTs (Newly Naturalized Tanzanians) by international organizations and had revoked their Burundian citizenship. From being quasi-citizens already, they became liminal, stateless beings in reality. It was not clear to any actor involved when this period of uncertainty would end.” In other words, this means, most NNTs still wonder whether they have yet gained full citizenship they have been longing for. Milezki argues this phenomenon can be explained by strong government and IOs control over NNTs lives and daily routine.

As explained earlier, the issues of local integration and their relationship with host communities varies from time to time and from places. In some cases, we have seen a hostile relation between host-refugees as both claim the other to be perpetrators and violent. To most people in host communities, refugees pose a security threats thus authorities enforce tight control, exclusion and hesitation in full integration among protracted refugees (Milezki:2014) argued “while treating refugees as legal, spatial and temporal “exceptions” (Agamben, 2005), the state creates a ‘space of control’ and thereby excludes refugees from citizenship in the refugee camp justified by the claim that refugees are security threats. However, refugees are neither purely perpetrators nor

victims.”. With such attitudes and experience, most NNTs and even refugees in the camps, develop some sort of agency to understand, manoeuvre, create sense of belonging as citizens of the host nation and fit-in the liminal spaces as Milezki claimed so as to reduce sense of uncertainty. This agency formation among NNTs and refugees in different settlements argues Milezki, is what is called de facto citizenship whereby she claims, one to be citizens is the process involves one being naturally made citizens by their own community and at the same time one trying to fit-in as full citizen in that same community “, citizenship is both a “process of self-making and being-made”, i.e. a process showing how the state (or the community in question) makes citizens and how people make claims of the state (or community). This process can be called de facto citizenship.” in case of Burundian NNTs in Ulyankulu, the act of seeking for agency as a result of technical exclusion or what Judith Butler called “constitutive exclusion” as she claimed “they enact certain political distinctions, including inequality and exclusion, without always naming them”

There are many ways through which the government and/or IOs can exclude NNTs and refugees in their allocated localities. One of the mechanisms through de jure phenomena in which state authorities or even the local communities perform such exclusion through control of different levels of governance. According to Milezki as she quoted (Marshall, 1983 [1950]: 253) the de jure citizenship referred to here is “a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed”. This spread in a wider context as it cut across from psychological control, physical control through biopolitics and socially as Milezki argues “Since refugees are not believed to be part of the nation, the state finds ways to postpone decisions on a permanent legal status and thereby exclude refugees from the citizenry in temporal ways.” Milezki continues stipulating how former Burundian refugees in Ulyankulu were excluded through taxation systems, strictly title deed to own land, movement restrictions, difficulties in getting job (i.e. hard to get working permits), difficulties to get travelling documents such as National ID and passports among others exclusion measures.

## **2.7 Conclusion:**

From the above theoretical review, I have conceptualized difference aspects of the relation between the local integration and how it connects with livelihood. I have explained the concept of local integration by referring Chamber’s and Conway’s sustainable livelihood Approach and through their concept I was able to highlight key issues that in one way or the other affects the livelihood of NNTs in Ulyankulu. Some of the key concepts according to Chamber et al, 1991, are the three aspects i.e. capability/capacity which entails people’s ability to achieve end results, equity which involves means to an end and sustainability which entails stewardship for future uses. I have also explained the four resources in relation to the NNTs livelihood in Ulyankulu, these include the natural resources such as air, land, soil, etc. other resources include financial like money, social such as networks and influence and lastly human capital which involves knowledge. In a search for validation for my study, I have also explained the similar experience gained from neighboring countries with case studies from Kakuma and Dadaab in Kenya and some experience from Uganda as far as local integration is concerned. Through these case studies, I have explained how these neighboring countries dealt with local integration. In Kenya for example, integration entailed issues such human capital, what knowledge or competence does the refugee have before integrated, among

other issues they also considered security impacts to local communities. In Uganda, the integration was more or less flexible as refugees were given land and allowed to settle with less restriction. All of these concepts channel my discussion toward the issues of spatiality, liminality and identity among integrated community. Here I have explained how local integration shape identity of both host community and NNTs. I have explained how interaction between the two communities with different background has caused conflicts, especially in relation to land use. Finally, I discussed about the de facto and de jure citizenship from the experience learned by NNTs in Tanzania.

## **CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY:**

### **Introduction.**

In this chapter I explain different qualitative methods and discuss how they were used to collect data. The main methods used in this research were the observation techniques, and interviews. This means I have used participant observation and observing participants, unstructured interviews and focus group discussions, snowball/referral sampling, convenient sampling and purposive sampling techniques. In some occasions I took part in formal conversations and activities as participant observer. While in some cases I participated as observing participant without actively engaging in activities. Two interview techniques were used, these include the informal interviews (unstructured interview) and small focus discussion groups. Sampling methods were used based on the need, timing and nature of the respondents. A sample of NNTs, local Tanzanians, civil servants like teachers, farmers and entrepreneurs/small scale businessman/women, religious leaders i.e. Muslim and Christians was part of the sample selected to represent the Ulyankulu settlement inhabitants.

### **Research Design.**

For many decades, scholars and anthropologists have preferred or conducted their research through an ethnographic approach. In recent years, many researches in social science have been conducted through similar approaches despite the fact that there have been a number of debates about their applicability in certain situations (Russel B, 2011). This research is therefore a qualitative research which focuses mainly on ethnographic approaches. The design has considered a number of factors such as the available time, field configuration, the nature of the population under investigation and other logistics. This means different epistemological views, approaches, strategies and schools of thought have been used to gather relevant data. Through this design, I was able to participate in different social activities both as observing participant and participant observer. The most important thing about this research design is that it allowed me to understand and gather relevant qualitative data to learn about NNTs daily activities and their livelihoods. The aim of this design is not to generalize the findings but rather to allow me to examine, understand, interpret and explain the underlying factors that define the livelihood situation of NNTs in Ulyankulu. To be able to do that and gather relevant findings, there was an informant who assisted me with prior arrangements and gathered information like areas to visit and relevant people to interview. Apart from that, my assistant also helped me to arrange interviews with government official and religious leaders from different locations. Based on the number of inhabitants in Ulyankulu, different sampling methods were used such as snowballing/referral approach especially to those important personnel such as local authority officials. Convenience approach was also used in circumstances where the targeted groups or individuals were hard to found. On the other hand, a purposive sampling method was used to sample people such as teachers, doctors, government officials, religious leaders among others.

## **Data Collection Methods.**

To a large extent the data collection was done through interviews by asking NNTs how they integrate with locals in Ulyankulu. This was done to understand how NNTs settled and live within the settlement, to examine how they deal with informality and how they access employment, water, health services and education among others. Such interviews were done by visiting both the NNTs and the local community working places, households, social setting, business and to observe how they interact. These techniques were selected based on the time, location, sensitivity and accessibility of the targeted population. Location such as market, housing, farms, business centers, school, health unit, Church and Mosque were used as the key places for interviews and observation. A list of questions was prepared; however, this did not stop me from starting informal conversation by asking questions which were not listed on my guidelines.

## **Observation.**

During my fieldwork, I played different roles while observing the daily livelihood of NNTs in Ulyankulu. Depending on the circumstance, I changed roles from participant observer to observing participant (Russell B: 2011). I took part as a participant observer in different activities such as in the local market, dispensaries and households. However, I did not prefer participant observation due to the fact that it gives small room to observe everything while actively involved in the activity. My informant as an insider (a member of Ulyankulu society) participated in different social activities as they occurred while playing a role as observing participant (Russell B: 2011). Through participant observation, I was able to stay aside and observe how people interact, how they do business, observe how students learn in schools, how teachers teach without me actively involved in such activities. Some of the key issues observed through participant observation include how people settled in their households i.e. whether they have houses built by bricks or otherwise, or whether they have three meals per day, or whether children are going to school as required. I visited several households which were primarily owned by naturalized communities who came to Tanzania in the 1970s. Several houses in the settlement are built by bricks with iron sheets covering the top. Few houses had fences made up by either brick wall, gardens (plants/trees) or log fence. There are also traditional houses which are made up of mud and sticks which are covered by long grasses at the top. Another thing I observed was absence of social services such as water supply, this is the biggest problem in Ulyankulu settlement according to majority of the interviewees. After hearing a lot of complaints, I decided to walk around and observe water sources such as wells and boreholes. It was hard to find one and those found were dry. There are limited healthcare units, in fact there is no hospital but only dispensaries and clinics. According to one respondent, there are six dispensaries within the settlement although I only saw one dispensary and one clinic. When I visited the settlement dispensary, I saw a number of patients most of whom were women sitting on a bench outside waiting for the doctor to attend them.

## **Informant:**

My decision to have an assistant who knows the settlement well was one of the key elements for successful access to the field. On my first day in Ulyankulu, my experience was a bit hectic with a lot of uncertainty, I did not know where to start. I later found a

local authority office and introduced myself to the officers. After explaining what the purpose of my trip was, they directed me to the settlement administrator and where I found my assistant. I was later accompanied by three people to the other administrator's office where senior settlement officials were found. Later on, we exchanged contacts and we arranged a day to officially meet and start the work. The selection of my assistant was based on her familiarity with the place, the influence she has in the community, what strategic role she can play, how large is her connection and network, were some of the important features. Later on, we discussed terms of payment and most importantly what she can offer to the project itself. My assistant, a 31 years old divorced naturalized Burundian, was my best option based on how much she knows the place and people. I explained to her what I wanted and the type of people I wanted to interview. I gave her my target and divided that into weeks and agreed the minimum number of interviews per week which was at least five people. We used to plan ahead where to go, how to get there, who to meet so she could inform the interviewees in advance. She also took me to different places for observation. One of the places she took me was her own house which she built after she divorced her husband. As time passed by, we knew each other better, she told me a story about how she and her ex-husband start living and build their lives together, until when they were successful with good houses and businesses. Later on, she told me her husband changed something which led to a divorce. She had to start all over again by building her own house which by the look of it, it was lower standard compared to what she built with her ex-husband.

### **Interviews:**

The interviewing method used was unstructured interview technique (Russell B: 2011). In some cases, a focus group discussion was used with participants not less than 3 and not more than 12. The interview focused mainly on three aspects (i.e. health issues, education and employment) which together reflect on the livelihood of the naturalized Tanzanians. The structure of the interview included an introduction and background information of each respondent; this gave me a chance to test whether the response provided by the key informant was relevant. The background information was used as a starting point for the interview especially when I met quiet individuals. In a random manner, I asked different questions depending on the background given by the respondent. For instance, the same question regarding security and conflict was asked differently depending on people's background information given. To get the relevant information about the livelihood of the naturalized Tanzanians, my questions were focused on how NNTs live and settle in Ulyankulu. The questions reflect on the four capitals of sustainable livelihood approach according to Robert Chambers and Gordon Conway (Chamber et al; 1991). Some of the variables include safety (security and conflict), education, water supply, resource ownership such as land, income generation such as business, financial situation, legitimacy -- if they can vote in national elections, freedom of movement, health services, employment availability, interaction with local Tanzanians and humanitarian assistance. The interview was conducted in two locations, one location was the ward office where I first met my key informant. On the other hand, me and my assistant visited households, hospitals, churches, mosques and other business places to conduct the interviews. Fifty percent of the interviews were done in the homes of the naturalized Tanzanians while the rest were done in different settings other than homes. This depends on different factors such as age of the respondents, if the respondent was too old or sick, then I would follow them to their places. Similarly, if the

interview has to be done during work hours for those respondents who have a farm or business, it was wise to visit them at their working places. I didn't prefer this approach because such settings normally disrupt the concentration of the interviewees. Most respondents were not full concentrating on the interview something which provided unreliable information. However, on the other hand, visiting people in their homes and working areas, gives a real taste of how things are on the ground. For instance, by visiting most households, I learned and observed several things like types of housing and types of facilities they own within their houses i.e. furniture etc. This gave me a clear picture of the livelihood situation of most NNTs in the settlement.

### **Sampling:**

Different sampling methods were used based on the particular research needs and NNTs accessibility. In most cases, the snowball sampling technique was preferred. In a huge population such as Ulyankulu settlement, it was not hard to find the relevant respondents simply because the majority of the inhabitants are NNTs. With this in mind, my assistant and I were able to identify respondents and use them to get others in their network. Each one of those who had a chance to be interviewed was asked if they know someone relevant for the research and thus a snowball sampling to accumulate more participants was used. Through this technique, a reasonable number of respondents were identified; however, not all were willing to participate. I was also aware that snowball sampling might lead my assistant and me to irrelevant respondents. This was because those respondents who refer me and my assistant to others might consider only their friends and relatives just for the sake of participating in the research even if that referral is irrelevant. On different scenario, purposive sampling was used, for instance, to understand the deeper context of the social services provision. My assistant and I deliberately visited the schools, dispensary, churches, and mosques to precisely understand the relationship between what has been said by the interviewees and what is real on the ground. Research projects are not always going as planned, and sometimes unforeseen circumstances tend to prevent smooth data collection. In such a scenario, I was forced to use convenient sampling. For instance, there were several circumstances whereby those who were pre-arranged for interviews, had an excuse for not attending the discussion at a very last-minute – reasons like sickness or traveling outside Ulyankulu was the most plausible excuses given by most respondents. In such a situation, I would pick someone randomly to cover the gaps. Moreover, when it was hard to find specific respondents, I used a convenience sampling method (Russell B: 2011). Quota Sampling was also used to acquire a manageable size as a proportion of the total study population of 162,000 naturalized (Milner 2014:560). A proportion sample of 38 people was selected as a sample, both male and female from the age of 19 years to 75 years. The population under study was mainly Hutu and few Tanzanians. The selection of the sample considered the gender balance, although, at some point, my assistant unconsciously took me to more male respondents than female ones. Perhaps this was affected by social and cultural norms.

### **Field Site:**

Tabora town is one of the less populated cities in Tanzania which covers 76,150kmsq with the density of 33.83kmsq. According to the 2012 population census Tabora has about 2,291,623 people (Wikipedia; 13 Jan 2019). The town is the political administrative Centre with most government offices. Regional Commissioner administers the region and

below that there are District offices in Urambo, Kailua, Igunga, Tabora Municipal, Nzega, Uyui, and Sikonge. The first few days when I arrived in Tabora, I spent some days in town aiming to understand the culture, food, and weather to familiarize myself before moving to Ulyankulu settlement. I have made some friends who I asked about Ulyankulu settlement. I asked them if there were critical issues I need to know before my departure. As explained earlier, Ulyankulu is one of the Tanzania remote areas with NNTs and few remaining refugees. Roads connecting Ulyankulu settlement and Tabora municipality are murrum roads. Most lanes heading or linking to the settlement are not made up by tarmac but murrum roads which are very slippery during the rainy season. Before officially start data collection, I visited Ulyankulu for a day visit just out of curiosity to see how it looks like after several months of imagining it. I went to the bus station and started a journey to what seemed to be my new home for three months. The trip took two hours because there were a lot of stops to pick up passengers on the way. These roads are rough; one day, I almost lost my eyes after a high-speed daladala (public bus) ran through a pothole and threw the bus off-road. When I settled, I introduced myself to a Local authority officer who was in a ward office just a few meters from the bus station. I stepped into the office. I saw a bunch of men and women sitting and chatting with each other. I introduced myself and asked who in-charge at that moment was. They told me the head of settlement was not around, but they could take me to other senior officials like 200 meters away from where the ward office. I was then asked what the purpose of my trip was. I told them I was a student and I was there to research livelihoods of naturalized Burundi. That introduction got their attention, and all of a sudden, they seem to be interested. Later on, three of the officers offered to accompany me to the other office where senior settlement officials were found. On our way, they showered me with a lot of information about the settlement as they talked simultaneously. I saw anger, disappointment, and a lost hope among them, they spoke with emotions about how the situation is. From that moment, I realized these were the best key informants to start.

### **Limitation and Ethical Issues:**

As explained before, to conduct research in Tanzania, one needs to seek for a research permit from the government of the United Republic of Tanzania. I knew from the beginning this will cost me time and money. As I was trying to overcome time and financial limitations, I decided to use email and telephone communication to seek for permit. This in turn delayed the research for a few weeks. Securing a permit has been one of the major limitations of my research. Sometimes the authorities deliberately delayed the process simply because they assumed the research was serving a purpose other than an academic one. I was perceived by most government officials as a spy used by a foreign organization to gather data about NNTs. This issue has an ethical phenomenon both to me as the researcher and the government officials which led into biasness. Eventually the permit was released, and I was allowed to do field work. Another limitation was my inexperience of working with trauma stricken communities such as the NNTs. Some of the main trauma-related challenges include the inappropriate behaviors (example one of the teacher during the interview was rude and show signs of not being interested to participate) by the NNTs community towards me as the researcher. To tackle and solve these challenges, a local but knowledgeable assistant was selected to assist me. Another challenge was transport. Ulyankulu settlements is one of the big settlements in Tanzania which is located far from Tabora town. Transport was difficult to find which affected my timing and interviewing schedules. Another limitation was how to establish trust and rapport with locals and NNTs. People had different perceptions about my presence. Some



NNTs thought I was sent by the government to spy on them. Others felt my presence was a chance to raise their complaints. They believed I was sent by foreign organizations to help them. Financially, this research was costly, to cover living expenses while living away from home, especially in isolated villages such as Ulyankulu does not only lead to challenge of redefining and fitting in a new culture but also it is costly. Concentrated settlements such as Ulyankulu tend to have insecurity issues, gun robbery attempts, prostitution activities and other diseases outbreak such as cholera due to poor sanitation and hygiene. This was another challenging situation that I had to live.

### **Conclusion:**

A set of different data collection techniques were used which finally lead to a successful collection of intended data. There was also use of secondary data to have a thematic data analysis. At the end, the use of one or a combination of such methods has led me to a fine and holistic picture of the livelihood situation in Ulyankulu. At some point, one or similar unstructured interview questions were asked to different respondents, while at other times different questions were asked. This was due to two main reasons, one with a fear of spill-over effects which is largely used in quantitative methods, I worried about people share their views gained from the interviews with friends and relatives who are in their network. To avoid such influence, different connotations and questioning techniques were used such as start the interview with a leading question (Russell B: 2011). This was also a good way to triangulate the data to cross-check their validity. Asking different people same questions on different occasion, by itself does not always promise data validity even if the answers provided were the same. Thus, a need to triangulate ground data between and among the respondents themselves was necessary. Other ways to triangulate raw data and validate them was through reflection to the secondary materials (literature). Some small extent of focus group discussion was convened especially with people from the same household or with people from the same sectors such as guards, teachers, among others. The fieldwork took three months from March to June 2019. The three months are including the preparation time spent in Zanzibar. In Zanzibar, I took three weeks preparing and organizing for the fieldwork before I traveled to Ulyankulu. A knowledgeable assistant was selected based on how well she knows Ulyankulu. The influence and network she has within the settlement one of the paramount factors for my selection. Different sampling methods, such as snowballing/referral sampling, convenient sampling, and purposive sampling were used to obtain the sample size. The total sample was 38 people were selected to represent the 162,000 naturalized Tanzanians (Milner 2014;560). This selection of sample was based on age, gender and ethnicity/origin of the respondents. Apart from sampling methods, different data collection techniques were used such as observation and unstructured interviews. I played two main observations roles i.e. participant observer and observing participant. However, I used more of observing participant than participant-observer in order to capture all activities in that particular time.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: LIVELIHOOD AND PUBLIC SERVICES: WATER, EMPLOYMENT, EDUCATION, HOUSING:**

### **Introduction.**

This chapter I explain and analyse the relationship between public services, i.e. water, education, housing, and NNTs livelihood experience in Ulyankulu settlement. Different schools of thought have been utilized to conceptualize the key ideas of livelihood and how it intertwined with the lives of NNTs in Ulyankulu. My analysis is based on Chambers and Conway's (Chambers et al; 1991) theoretical framework of Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA). To further define and link between local integration and Sustainable Livelihood Approach according to Chamber et al; (1991) and the empirical experience gained from the field, I have ventured theories i.e. human capital, natural capital, financial capital and social capital as discussed by Institute for Development Studies (IDS) of the University of Sussex and Department for International Development (DFID) as discussed by (Krantz L; 2001). With such theoretical presentations from two schools of thought, a clear pragmatic and empirical view of what was observed from the field has been presented. Chambers and Conway defined livelihood as "a means of gaining a living" or "adequate stocks and flows of food and cash to meet basic needs" (Chamber et al; 1991). On the other hand IDS and DFID highlighted livelihood in different terms as they claimed "the basic material and social, tangible, and intangible assets that people use for constructing their livelihoods — are conceptualized as different types of 'capital' to stress their role as a *resource base*" (Krantz L; 2001). According to IDS and DFID as quoted by (Krantz L; 2001) these capitals are either natural, financial, social or human capital.

### **The Four Public Services In Ulyankulu:**

During my fieldwork in Ulyankulu settlement, I have done several unstructured interviews with people from different socio-economic backgrounds. The interviews were guided by four main socio-economic aspects that contribute to sustainable livelihood experience of NNTs. These four socio-economic aspects are (i) equal and good education, (ii) availability of healthcare services, (iii) equal employment opportunity and (iv) adequate water supply. The selection of these four socio-economic aspects based on how many times they reappear or discussed in the interviews, by the NNTs and host community. Majority of those who were interviewed on different occasions have mentioned the misery caused by absence of such services or the blessing they bring. With such response, I have discussed more on the four socio-economic services not only because they appeared more in interviews, but also because they contribute to shaping the livelihood of NNTs in the settlement. Absence of such services plays a great role in how people maneuver, cope with their environment and interact with others. Accessing health services in Ulyankulu is problematic in different interviews a number of the respondents were asked to identify some of the main health challenges, most of them mentioned the public health insurance. At some point they said, each of the NNTs in the settlement was asked to pay a certain amount of money to cover their health costs. A small number of people in Ulyankulu (the middle class) can afford to pay for their health services. Such social classes normally buy medicines from private clinics and dispensaries or from a pharmacy. There are few health facilities in Ulyankulu, and even the available ones are not considered to be in goodstanding.

## **The Water Sources and Water Allocation within the Settlement:**

Water supply is one of the fundamental aspects of human survival and yet remains one of the main challenges in Ulyankulu settlement. As necessity resource for sustainable livelihood of humankind, water cross-cut so many sectors that might primarily be essential for human survival. To human beings, water can be used for domestic uses, it can also be used for agriculture, hospital, schools among others. The absence of water in the settlement has direct impacts on food security. The social burden of water collection has resulted in bad experiences among the NNTs. One good example of such social burden are the distance traveled by students seeking for water. An absence of water in the household means students have to miss their classes to fetch water in a distant location. In other words, it negatively impacts education and livelihood of such students. On the other hand, the health sector such as dispensaries depends on adequate water supply to serve well. Sufficient, adequate and equitable water supply among inhabitants in Ulyankulu seems like a dream. The majority of those interviewed admitted that there is a water crisis within the settlement and the problem seem chronic. With such absence of such essential resource, NNTs livelihood has been put at risk. According to (Chamber et al; 1991) concepts of Sustainable Livelihood Approach, equity refers to an adequate and decent livelihood experience facilitate both means and an end through assets availability (resources) and easy access to them. This fact seems unrealistic to many of those in Ulyankulu, and every individual needs sufficient distribution of water (at least 15 - 20ltrs per person/day) to survive said UNHCR. Physical burden according to UNHCR is another issue affects the livelihood and welfare of several inhabitants in Ulyankulu settlement. Reflecting this with Chambers et al;(1991) capability concept, the ability of many NNTs in Ulyankulu to achieve their needs can be questioned due to their inability to find water. Capability according to Chambers et al; (1991) involves the sense of the influence and ways through which an individual can achieve the desired results. To many NNTs in the settlement, they might have failed to pursue such influence to foster adequate and equitable access of such natural capital. Another burden as to what UNHCR claimed is the environmental burden which explains the effects of insufficient water supply and its impacts on the environment. The environmental burden according to the UNHCR, also involves pumping of water can lead to the decline of water levels and quality.

At some point, international humanitarian agents planned to drill water wells and borehole to supply water in the settlement. But the local authority refused the project with a claim that, local Tanzanians should be considered first before the refugees. By listening to stories of many Ulyankulu residents, there were boreholes, most of which are seasonal, this brings us to the third concept of sustainable livelihood approach which is sustainability (Chambers et al;1991). According to Chambers et al (1991), Sustainability has both means and an end, but with one unique character, it provides stewardship and guideline for future uses. Adequate water supply and accessibility have no meaning without sustainability, again capability to have clean and safe water might not necessarily mean sustainable future water supply. Sustainability by itself needs a well-engineered mechanism and trajectory to be achieved. In such situation, for durable water solutions in places like Ulyankulu, a proper policy, structure, institutions, and processes (Knutsson P;2006) need to be in place to attain such fantasy. Inspired by Chambers et. al (1991) Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA), many of the well-known International Organizations such as the United Nations' Development Programme (UNDP), the UK Department of International Development (DFID), IDS and Oxfam have embraced the approach to be the Centre of their development programs. The four capitals as discussed

in chapter two, give us a clear description of the change and adaptation of the environment by most NNTs. Water is a natural capital; its absence creates predicament and impediment to the livelihood of those it leaves victims.

### **Employment Opportunities And Economic Exclusion:**

The period between 1960 and 1990, most of the African states such as Tanzania and Uganda had liberal perception towards refugees (Rutinwa B; 1999). In such period refugees were allowed to work both in public and private sectors and own properties such as land and houses (Rutinwa B; 1999). According to (Rutinwa B;1999), refugees were able to work freely and enjoy public services as locals as he put it “Refugees were allowed equal access to health and education services as well as the job market, both in the private and public sectors”. This statement put by Rutinwa seems rather true in places like Ulyankulu where 44 teachers are NNTs and only five teachers are local Tanzanians, said the principal of Mirambo secondary school. However, in recent years these policies have changed with more strict impositions of laws and regulations that pose restrictions towards NNT’s contracts and give limited work rights. The local integration entails three main frameworks which include economic integration, social integration, and legal integration. Through economic integration, refugees are allowed to take part in economic activities or production systems such as access to land and farming. They can also be employed as casual labor or self-employed to attain minimum living standard as argued by (Rutinwa B; 1999) “As to self-sufficiency rights, refugees in Africa were allowed to till land and keep animals, even in countries like Tanzania and Uganda where the law permitted the confiscation and slaughter of animals brought in by refugees”. The right to work to all members of a society and to provide their labor are some of the rights that are described by both local organizations and international agencies such as ILO Recommendation 205 (UNHCR; 2019-2023 Global Strategy Concept Note). Nevertheless, everyone has a right to earn a living through decent work as stipulated in article 6 of the International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights.

The call for a comprehensive global framework as a response to the refugees and migrants’ livelihoods and economic inclusion programs is more than needed (UNHCR; 2019-2023 Global Strategy Concept Note). Presence of such framework means a fix to the employment opportunity among NNTs is a fix for the social misfortune. Majority of NNTs and locals alike have not been formally employed, most of them are self-employed with over sixty percent are agro-economist involving in selling tobacco and other cash crops. Lack of formal employment has been one of the main challenges discussed in interviews; less than twenty-five percent of those interviewed were employed in public or private sectors. The main reason raised by the NNTs during the interviews was unequal opportunity and favoritism to host community with NNTs. To improve NNTs resilience and self-reliance a clear-cut strategy and policy are needed to attain a real economic inclusion. Economic Inclusion has been one of the best strategies and yet a key pillar for a proper livelihood experience. This inclusion does not leave aside the fact that equal working rights should be considered as part of the empowering environment among such vulnerable society. The economic inclusion as a proper way to safeguard NNTs livelihood entails clear access to financial institutions, decent work, access to the labor market, entrepreneurial empowerment and other economic benefits for both host community and NNTs in places such as Ulyankulu. Through such initiatives and global policies, such inclusion will not only reduce aid dependency among member states and NNTs themselves, but it will also contribute to the empowering and later foster self-sustenance,

independence, and sustainability among NNTs and those surrounding villages. For instance, in an interview with one of the NNTs, a 29 yearold man who holds a diploma in animal health and production, he once got a temporary job in Ngara Kagera region as school animal and agriculture supervisor, he dropped his work due to low income offered based on his origin. Later on, he decided to move back to the settlement and open a mobile voucher kiosk. He said moving back to the settlement from Ngara was the only way he could empower himself from that socio-economic exclusion. Apart from the kiosk, he self-employed as a freelancer dealing with NNTs livestock and agriculture production within the settlements. I asked him if he applied for job elsewhere in a public office, he said he tried and was selected for an interview, but he was not selected. When I asked him whether his fellow NNTs use the same techniques to evade the social exclusion based on their background. He responded, most NNTs have limited source of income from the government or IOs, they normally engage in agricultural production and save money to start a small business as a way to self-sustain themselves. He concluded, there are ample employment opportunities, but such vacancies are not advertised in public as he claimed this is a technical exclusion.

By empowering such a vulnerable society like the one in Ulyankulu, it will be the starting point to prepare them for a better and sustainable future as responsible citizens and contribute to the development of the host country. In a holistic point of view, the process of job creation and distribution among NNTs or any member of the community in that case, needs the involvement of all stakeholders “Improving livelihoods and achieving economic inclusion of refugees cannot be done by UNHCR alone and requires the engagement of a broad range of stakeholders” (UNHCR; 2019-2023 Global Strategy Concept Note). As such, the involvement of private sectors, development sectors, and individual entrepreneurs in job creation, promotion and distribution are equally important as it is to the public and international organizations. This claim is supported by Rutinwa B; (1999) arguing “Refugees were allowed equal access to health and education services as well as the job market, both in the private and public sectors.” The presence of informal sectors especially in settlements and camps has positively contributed to the economic and livelihood welfare of those living in those areas. In Ulyankulu for instance, over 90% of its inhabitants are employed in informal sectors such as agriculture, small scale business, transportation among others. Such employment trends mean there is limited employment opportunity among NNTs and locals, most of them are self-employed with majority are agro-economist involving in selling tobacco, beans, groundnuts, and other cash crops. Others are involved in small scale businesses such as kiosk and tailoring, some move around with their products from place to place. Lack of formal employment has been one of the main challenges discussed in interviews; less than twenty-five percent of those interviewed were employed in public or private sectors. The main reason raised by the NNTs during the interviews was unequal opportunity and favoritism to local citizens in relation to NNTs. To attain job sustainability in such social practice and configuration, more attention should be placed on how such sector can impact livelihood development. In most cases, small scale enterprises almost all-over developing countries have fallen into the trap of stiff rules and regulations that either slow their growth or demolish them for good. Rules and regulations as far as business, entrepreneur, and jobs are concerned in places like Ulyankulu are oppressing in nature. Without allowing a friendly working environment among NNTs in their settlements and conducive business atmosphere, we can only do this by encompassing a good system which will enable not only decent job creation among such vulnerable ethnic groups, but also an assurance of job sustainability. Many

things can be done to see this into action, for instance as proposed by (UNHCR; 2019-2023 Global Strategy Concept Note) a minimum economic recovery standard which will allow NNTs and local together to have access to financial institutions to finance their small-scale businesses.

### **Impacts of Education: What Has Changed Since the 1990s:**

Accessibility of quality education is one of the fundamental aspects for enabling a person to gain relevant skills and capacity to have decent jobs (Rutinwa Bonaventure; 1999) and proper life which will eventually lead to successful local integration. A need for a relevant educational policy which will allow NNTs to acquire relevant skills is more than needed. This policy can be specifically designed to impart knowledge among 2nd generation that will enable them to develop problem-solving skills and other civic education. For a successful policy to achieve its goals, not only the policy that embedded statements that could show a clear and strategic trajectory towards educational revolution among NNTs but a holistic approach that includes all necessary infrastructures that smoothly propel the achievement of such policy. School infrastructures including proper buildings and teaching facilities are as equally important as the policy itself. In Ulyankulu for instance, where this study focuses on, there are few schools compared to the demand. These schools serve both local and naturalized students. According to the data collected from the ward education officer, most schools have an average of 120 students in each class which is over their normal capacity. There are two types of education systems offered in the settlement as per ward educational officer. These are the formal education which contains 7 primary schools and 1 secondary school within the proximity of the settlement. On the other hand, there is informal education program that serves older people. Referring to (Chambers et al. 1991) concepts of livelihood approach, a decent and adequate life stands the core part of livelihood development.

Lack of proper infrastructure in school such as Mirambo secondary school which has about 2,671 students is dismaying facts that has affected the livelihood of its inhabitants, especially the parents of students who have to carry a burden of renovating the school by themselves. Putting emphasis and resources not only into primary and secondary education, but also on the higher education for NNTs can be one of the best ways to ensure sustainability in the long run. Students have been reported dropping off classes in early and mid-1990s due to poor policies, school fees, lack of uniforms and other factors such as water shortage as explained above. In the 1990s and early 2000s two children in a refugee's household had sponsorship to go to school for two years, said one of the interviewees. Things have changed, since UN phase out from the settlement, and no more support is given, the naturalized households are on their own. When the researcher asked the ward education officer whether students in public schools get standard education, he replied "they all get what they deserve" meaning proper education who later admitted there is a problem of more students. The school enrolled students more than its capacity, fewer classes and fewer teachers which is against international human rights declarations. It is, therefore, the right of individual students and their teachers to enjoy a proper and decent education system that does not discriminate based on ethnic origin. Such discrimination has been highlighted by the (UNESCO;2017) "while examining the situation of recent refugees, the United Nations human rights treaty bodies have repeatedly expressed concerns about the limited enjoyment of rights by persons fleeing armed conflict or persecution who arrive at the borders of States." With absence of International organizations, there have been several challenges to restore the

infrastructure of Mirambo school, this failure has been due to poor resource mobilization by the parents and partly because of low-income level. According to (Rutinwa B; 1999) “refugees need specific support in the transition from one education cycle to the other, as many (specifically girls) drop-out before completing an education cycle or transitioning to the next.” Over recent times, the drop out cases have reduced to a promising rate, but there is still a lot that needs to be done to improve the situation. A need for a proper educational policy does not only need to solve educational challenges such as availability of textbooks, good classrooms, and relevant curriculum. But also, a need for a cross-cutting solution to tackle other socio-cultural agendas such as adolescents, gender imbalance and early marriage are some of the particularly threatening factors to most students. In Mirambo Secondary school, for instance, about 51% of the students are boys while only 41% are girls claimed the principal of Mirambo secondary school.

### **Housing And Building Permits:**

The sustainable livelihood Approach prioritizes people-centered development focusing on what people in a community have and what they have not (Jon D. Unruh; 2004). The maximization of land accessibility, simplified land tenure and less bureaucracy in permits submission on many occasions leads to more social development and other infrastructures. In most cases, the legitimacy, norms and post-conflict background among NNTs or refugees, in general, has played a great role in land ownership and housing (Jon D. Unruh; 2004). A consideration to such norms and background on how land should be developed and properly controlled is vital aspect for better future policy on land tenure as a way to promote sustainable livelihood (Jon D. Unruh; 2004). Most of the times, the policymakers focus does not take into account the views and background of those whom the policy is affecting. These norms and informal institutions in a community like Ulyankulu settlement could be used as strength to a good housing and land ownership policy at the same time take into account host communities point of views (Jon D. Unruh; 2004). According to the data collected from the field, the majority of the NNTs in Ulyankulu settlement have access to resources such as land. There has been several complaints among NNTs on policy and unfair laws that still oppress them and question their livelihood. One of the major complaints was the existence of Law Act. 9 and Law. Act. 7 which was enacted in the 1990s to control welfare of refugees in settlements and camps. Reflecting this concept to the data collected in Ulyankulu, one can argue the majority of NNTs can maneuver and fit-in the environment to face their challenges. such tactics from NNTs can be seen from some of the interviewees when some NNTs build or acquire land even with strict restrictions from the settlement administration. According to many of the NNTs, the settlement administration is said to be corrupted and unfair, sometimes they ask for money to allow NNT to build or acquire land. The NNTs agency capacity to work through such oppressive policy has been weakened and therefore the capability of individual NNTs to foster such change the policy has stalled. One of the concepts underlying the idea of sustainable livelihood according to (Chambers et. al; 1991) is that livelihood concepts crosscut a range of social aspect which by coming together they form a holistic concept of well-being. This not only means the involvement of good land and housing policies but also involves the process of having capacity and ability to acquire decent housing.

Looking back at the case study, the majority of the houses in Ulyankulu are of low standards, this, in other words, means the inside condition of most brick houses has no good floor although they are made up of cemented floors (some floors have cracks) with

ceiling boards. From the observation done in different household with a view of how well and decent their houses are, the researcher observed windows which were made up of wooden and iron bars, some households have nets covering the windows to prevent insects from coming in. Most houses have furniture such as living room table, two to three wooden chairs, stools, door and window curtains. There are few houses with carpets (most of which are also old carpets). At least three-quarters of the houses observed by the researcher were connected to electricity. Although the majority still use traditional means of lighting and cooking such as the use of firewood. There are some households have a mixture of brick houses and mud houses; these mud houses could be specifically for cooking or external toilets. Some use the mud house to keep their livestock. For those houses which are made up of mud and sticks, almost all have similar interior i.e. have wooden chairs and tables, wooden windows and outside kitchen. However, most of them neither have ceiling board nor a carpet on the floor. Most inhabitants in the settlements, this includes both the naturalized or registered citizens as they call themselves and the locals have complained about freedom of house construction. As put by one interviewee -- a local Tanzanians, "there is no freedom of living like any other place, there are a lot of laws and settlement regulations and yet there are poor social services while settlement administration does nothing about it". He continued, "Ulyankulu is like a forgotten place, neither the UN nor the government exists". The respondent had a desire to build his house within the settlement, but due to corruption, tight laws and regulations he was not able to build one. There are few similar buildings about seven to ten, when the researcher asked his informant whose houses were, they, he was told they were government staff houses. By government staff, it means teachers, police, administrators, coordinators, and doctors etc.

### **Governmentality In Ulyankulu:**

To most scholars, the paradigm shift towards the modern days' concepts of protracted refugees, seem to have taken a different turn and cross-cutting several issues i.e. political, social, economic and cultural aspects. Between 1960 and 1990, most African states including Tanzania dealt with refugees' crisis with Pan Africanism ideology. Through this ideology, African states implemented what (Rutinwa B;1999) called 'open door policy' which gave refugees benefits such as freedom of movement and freedom to work within host state. However, in recent years, this ideology has turned out to have more economic and political benefits to host community and less economic and political benefits to NNTs themselves. Here, I don't mean to say NNTs or refugees don't benefit at all while they reside in foreign state, but rather there has been an ideological shift on how host state deal with refugee's crisis. One of the most recent ideas about protracted refugees is naturalization of long-term refugees as full citizens of the host country. Viewing this in political perspectives (Armend Bekaj and Lina Antara; 2018) argued "In any event, naturalization remains the only route to full and equal permanent membership of the political community". In most cases, the level in which former refugees are allowed to participate or affiliate themselves to a local political party or involved in political activity in the country of asylum is very low and has some sense of controversy (Mandal R; 2003). In most situations, refugees' presence in the country of asylum is seen as a threat and creates fear and tension which prevent their involvement politics (Mandal R; 2003). Furthermore, human rights laws in country of asylum through article 25 of the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights ('ICCPR') allows only citizens of country of asylum to vote and to stand for public office, such right is not given to those with refugees' status (Mandal R; 2003). It appeared in some settlement or camps



elsewhere in the region; many former refugees were able to rise to high governmental positions in both civil and diplomatic services (Rutinwa B; 1999). “Although States are not obliged to give aliens the right to vote, they do have discretion to allow them to participate in elections. In some cases, States may undertake to provide voting rights to resident aliens according to a particular treaty arrangement” (Mandal R; 2003). One of the key components of livelihood capitals according to (Chambers et al;1991) is social capital, and this allows community members to form networks, associations, and affiliations in pursuant of their daily survival. Reflecting further to (Mandal R; 2003) line of argument, the human rights laws “guarantee of freedom of association in Article 22 of the ICCPR applies equally to aliens and citizens alike. This, in principle, accords refugees the right to form political organizations. However, the formation or operation of such organizations may be restricted on the same grounds as Article 21” (Mandal R; 2003). Taking into account the issues of legal integration which has some legal implications, grants freedom and participation rights of former refugees not only to elect a political leader but to be elected as one. According to (Mandal R; 2003) as he referred to the 1951 Convention, he claimed the 1951 refugee’s convention has not deals with the issues of refugees and former refugees political rights. “However, Article 2 makes it clear that refugees have duties to the country of asylum, including respect for its laws and measures taken for the maintenance of public order” (Mandal R; 2003). The legal framework as stipulated in legal integration in certain point gives the legitimacy to the NNTs to choose their leader in accordance to their wishes. Human rights declaration and refugees’ laws have granted rights to former refugees and refugees in general while considering host community legitimate security interests (Mandal R; 2003). However, this fact was not applicable or relevant to majority of Ulyankulu inhabitants since there has been complains about the lack of political representation. Since the last Tanzania general election held in 2015, Ulyankulu had no local government representative, in Swahili this position is call ‘Diwani’. Listening to many people complaining and repeating the same issues in many interviews, brought a sense that political presentation is such a big factor even in vulnerable places like Ulyankulu. With that fact, Ulyankulu has been without a local government representative for over four years. Does this leave such old settlement a stateless community? In several interviews, the respondents when asked about their livelihood development and challenges. They claimed the absence of such social services such as water and affordable healthcare, has been resulted by the absence of both the government and humanitarian agents such as UNHCR. Ulyankulu is one of the old settlements which is no longer under UN direct supervision. With such controversy perception, several attitudes have risen among NNTs debating whether they are stateless community since neither the government, nor the UN seems to exist in the settlement.

### **Conclusion:**

I have explained and analyzed the existing relationship between livelihood and how it shapes the reality of local integration in Ulyankulu. To operationalize the concepts of livelihood, different schools of thoughts have been utilized to conceptualize the key ideas of livelihood and how it intertwined with the lives of NNTs in Ulyankulu. Based on Chambers and Conway (Chamber et al; 1991) theoretical framework, this chapter will be embedded extensively on Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) to extend our discussion. To further define and link such theories according to (Chamber et al; 1991) and the empirical experience gained from the field, I have ventured on different schools of thoughts by Institute for Development Studies (IDS) of the University of Sussex and Department for International Development (DFID) as discussed by (Krantz L; 2001). I

have also shown the role of education in sustainable livelihood and how it cross-cut and impact other aspects such as employment. Accessibility of quality education is one of the fundamental aspects for enabling a person to gain relevant skills and capacity to have decent jobs (Rutinwa Bonaventure; 1999) and proper life which will eventually lead to successful local integration.

Furthermore, I explained how important to integrate good employment policy and strategies as a way to improve former refugees' livelihood. To improve NNTs resilience and self-reliance a clear-cut strategy and policy is an inevitable truth to as a real economic inclusion should be attained. Economic Inclusion has been one of the best strategies and yet a key pillar for a proper livelihood experience. The economic inclusion as a proper way to safeguard NNTs livelihood entails a clear access to financial institutions, decent work, access to the labor market, entrepreneurial empowerment and other economic benefits for both citizens and NNTs. In most cases, the legitimacy, norm and post-conflict background among NNTs or refugees in general has played a great role in land ownership and housing (Jon D. Unruh; 2004). This has resulted into less development on housing and land ownership and building permit provision. I have also tried to explain how former refugees in places like Ulyankulu play some sense of agency to control and present their political interest. I have done so by reviewing different legal conventions. In most cases, the level in which former refugees are allowed to participate or affiliate themselves to a local political party or involve in political activity in the country of asylum is very low and has some sense of controversy (Mandal R; 2003). In most situations, refugees' presence in the country of asylum is seen as a threat and creates fear and tension which prevent their involvement politics (Mandal R; 2003). Furthermore, human rights laws in country of asylum through article 25 of the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights ('ICCPR') allows only citizens of country of asylum to vote and to stand for public office, such right is not given to those with refugees' status (Mandal R; 2003). "Although States are not obliged to give aliens the right to vote, they do have discretion to allow them to participate in elections. In some cases, States may undertake to provide voting rights to resident aliens pursuant to a particular treaty arrangement" (Mandal R; 2003). With such controversy perception, a number of attitudes have risen among NNTs debating whether they are stateless community since neither the government, nor the UN seem to exist in the settlement.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: UNDERSTANDING INFORMALITIES AND HOW THEY SHAPE NNTs LIVELIHOOD:**

### **Introduction:**

Regardless of several reform attempts by UNHCR and Tanzanian government to improve livelihoods of the NNTs through local integration, Newly Naturalized Tanzanians have continued to experience socio-economic instability. Today, more than half of NNTs in Ulyankulu are working in an informal sector especially in agriculture and service sectors, yet many are still poor. This chapter analyses and states different types of informalities within the settlement and how NNTs face them to re-shape their livelihood situation (Santiago Levy; 2008). The term informality has different meaning depending on the context in which it has been used. James Heintz said "There is no single approach to defining informality and the definitions used in theoretical and empirical research often lack consistency from one study to the next. The notion that the informal side of the economy escapes clear definition is reflected in the language used to describe it: 'murky', 'shadow', 'hidden', and 'underground'" (Heintz J; 2012). Based on (Heintz J;2012), informality can be defined as a socio-economic system which can be elusive/ visible. Example of informalities include poverty, corruption, insecurity, bureaucracy, insecure workers, harsh regulation/ evasion of the rule of law, unfair competition, underpayment (Santiago Levy; 2008). To best present my ethnographic findings, I classify informalities into four groups i.e. economic, spatial, political and socio-cultural informalities. During the field interviews, most NNTs complain about the first three informalities. In the coming paragraphs, I explain how such informalities happen and how they contribute to shape the NNTs livelihood. Later on, I elucidate on how NNTs deal with such informalities.

### **The Social Classes: Gender Inequality, Income Gaps and Traditionality:**

In the settlement like Ulyankulu, socio-cultural biases and disparities such as gender inequality, social classes and cultural differences appear to have two distinct identities. On the one hand, they have served as a springboard to enhance the 'social classes' among the NNTs. On the other hand, they broaden up the 'economic gap' between the low-class people and the middle class individuals. The existence of such socio-cultural inequalities has brought debate among NNTs during the interviews. Some of most discussed issues by women for instance were, sexual abuse, forced marriage/early marriage, patriarchal system whereby man rule over women in socio-economic aspects in households. Base on such disparities, I learnt that, the way people live, interact, and respond to their environment and to each other has proven to be important aspect in their well-being. In Ulyankulu for instance, from the external perspective, the interaction between man and women seems to be perfectly fine. However, when a deeper ethnographic study is done to understand the hidden facts, then the whole scenario changes and signs of gender inequality illuminates. Most of the times, women barely talk in discussions with men especially when the topic is about how men mistreat women. The expression of such misconducts by a woman, might cause negative consequences. To extract relevant data from such scenario, I had to set a gender-based discussion to reduce biases and fear among women. I was aware, an attempt to mix the two sexes to discuss gender-based topics, would lead into biases and male domination. To me, lack of such freedom of expression is another socio-culture informality that needs to be addressed for sustainable livelihood to be attained. However, in some cases, I preferred a one-on-one interview with either man or woman to give chances to those who could not speak in

groups to express their feelings. The above informalities, are therefore related to gender discrimination which in turn widens social classes and inequality in Ulyankulu.

During the focus group discussions with women alone, I wanted to know if there were signs of gender inequality within the settlement. There were mixed feelings among the participants, some were reluctant to admit they face gender inequality, while others including my field assistant agreed there is gender inequality. There are many issues discussed to see how they describe gender inequality, to some, the term just means man masculinity and patriarchal system which favor man than women. Others were more explicitly with personal examples such as my assistant's story about how his husbands hurrassment and the taking of all properties that they have made together as I elaborate later. The major concern however was on resources distribution and utilization (e.g. land ownership). They claimed men tend to seize land and other family resources such as houses, businesses and farms. Majority of women admitted that, the social structure does not give equal room between man and women to access properties. One of the interviewees said, "when my parents passed away, they left us with a 'shamba' (a farm) as inheritance. Few years after getting married, my husband sold it with the excuse we need money to run the family". Another woman who was a NNT told me, she and her brothers also inherited a plot of land from their late parents, but since she was the only girl in the family, she didn't have the right on the property. The land was instead under her brother's custodian. Many of these narratives explains how dozens of women are trapped in social exclusion and inequality due to such exploitation and unfair social structure. Here, the structure-agency dilemma does not only tell us about how NNTs live within the settlement, but also it tells us how imbalanced men-women relationship affects and shapes the livelihood of NNTs in Ulyankulu settlement.

On the other hand, the existance of social classes provide another image of how social inequalities shape NNT's lives within the settlement. In essence, most societies are made up of social classes, however what makes the Ulyankulu case interesting is the fact that, both low-classes and mid-classes NNTs live in a marginalized settlement. In general, many outsiders (people living outside the settlement) would label NNTs as marginalized and from same social class. From the ethnographic observation, there is more than what an outsider could see. Nonetheless, from my point of view, two explanations of such contradictory paradox have to do with historical background of NNTs i.e. Hutus from low and upper land in Burundi. The best example of social classes in the settlement was explained by one of my interviewees who had gone through social stigma based on her origin. When I asked her if NNTs interact peaceful with their host community, she said she has no problem with her host community, they live in harmony. However, the social exclusion she is facing was from her fellow NNTs. She said, she was excluded and despised by other Burundians because of her origin – she was from low land regions in Burundi while her contenders were from high lands. This has effects not only to her, but also to her child who is facing identity and origin crisis i.e. whther the child should consider her/himself a low-high lander or naturalized Tanzanian. Another explanation of the social exclusion and classes involves income level. There are NNTs who accumulate land, controlled properties or had decent job and in the past. This group involves middle class businessman who own shops, grinding machine and other assets. Another group from my observation, is the group of NNTs who came in from Burundi with relative income or have connection with rich and influential family in Burundi e.g. relatives of ministers. They use such powerful background to excel within the settlement. These inequalities are some of the common socio-cultural informalities within the settlement.

## **The Economic Informalities within Ulyankulu Settlement:**

Within the settlement, there are two main types of employment sectors i.e. informal and formal sector. These sectors can either be public or private sectors. Majority of those I interviewed, work in the informal/private sector which means most NNTs in Ulyankulu are self-employed. From my observation, the major informal employment including subsistence farming, cash crop farming, kiosk, boda boda (cyclists), mechanics, retailers, small scale businesses i.e. kiosk, salon, restaurant etc. For those employed in the public sector, most were settlement officials, education officer, settlement agriculture coordinator, public school teachers, government security force/guards, (Ranger) among others. There are many stories about how everyone gets jobs within the settlement. For example, those in the private sector and especially the informal sector, most of them are self-employed in agrobusiness, they sell cash crops and food crops. When I asked where or how they access the land they use to cultivate, many said they either bought it or inherit it from their late parents. There are some NNTs who borrow money from micro finance institutions and/or individuals and start up small businesses. One of the interviewees told me, there was a 'Savings and Credit Co-Operative Society' (saccos) that provided loans to enabled community members to start businesses. And then he told me, people were not repaying the loans and eventually the Savings and Credit Co-Operative Society died. These are just some of the ways in which NNTs earn their living or access employment inside or outside of the settlement.

Agriculture is one of the main sources of income and food for many people living in rural areas and suburbs. Like other villages in Tanzania, Ulyankulu settlement has fertile land which sustain agriculture production for both subsistence and commercial cropping. Many NNTs in Ulyankulu are involved in commercial farming. Some of the major cash crops they produce are tobacco, beans, corn, nuts, etc. This type of farming has been one of the main economic activities for people of all ages, both young and old. Half of the people I interviewed are engaged in subsistence farming. Three quarters are engaged in mixed farming -- keeping livestock and cultivating cash crops. I asked some of my interviewees how do they get agricultural inputs such as seeds. Many were buying from nearby areas, or from other local farmers/shops within the settlement. Many of NNTs are poor, I talked to some families and households to learn if subsistence farming without modern inputs would produce enough food for the families. A 59-year-old man told me "food is available, we have some to feed our families of course, however the situation is a bit different in the summer, during summer we harvest little". I wanted to know if most families get three meals a day, another respondent said, "it depends on the family, I cannot speak for the rest, but alhamdulillah I can have enough to satisfy myself and my family." While talking to the Ulyankulu agricultural coordinator, I wanted to find out if most NNTs families in the settlement can afford three full meals a day. He said on average many people depend on subsistence agriculture. There are others who rely on retail businesses. He noted that on average people grow food crops and meet their home needs.

Ulyankulu is made up of people from mixed background. Majority are Tanzanians with Burundian origin and few indigenous Tanzanians. People live in a communal setting with high social interaction. In the evenings, people sit outside their houses to socialize, others especially youth, like to go to the bars to chat and exchange ideas. This illustrates somehow how people, especially youth between the ages of 18 - 30 live and interact with each other. On the other hand, the elderly prefers to sit under the trees listening to the radio or reading the newspapers. During my observation, I had approached one old NNT

for a informal interview. The old man was a widower, his wife passed away in 2015. He told me; he was grateful when he received citizenship certificates in 2009, but the biggest challenge is service provision especially to the old people. He complained about health accessibility, water shortage and poor pension scheme for NNTs who work in public institutions. He told me; his beloved wife used to work in a government clinic before she died. She retired in 2012, but until her death in 2015, she was not paid her pension benefits. He took initiative after the death of his wife and tried to claim the benefits. Unfortunately, he had not been able to secure the benefits. When I asked him, how he make a living with such old age, he said he got support from his children. Apart from that, he has a small vegetable garden in front of his house. This comes back to the previous point on the importance of family on sustainable livelihood in the settlement.

To understand people's way of life in a community, one needs to look with the ontological perspective of that particular community. In my study, I selected five of the identified social services above to express how NNTs access and utilize basic services within the settlement. Two of the key questions I asked myself during my field study were; how do NNTs access social service such as health care? And how do such services help them to achieve sustainable livelihood? In interviews, I also wanted to find out how do NNTs feel about the existing health care system within the settlement and how such services help them to carry on with their daily livelihood activities. Knowing how NNTs treat the issue of social services creates an important aspect to understand their overall integration experience. To start my analysis, I explain how NNTs use the health service and how such service shapes their livelihood experience. Generally speaking, the medical costs charged by the clinics within the settlement are relatively small. But based on income level of NNTs, the use of health care services is at minimal level. Most of the NNTs are low-income earners, their ability to pay, for example the cost of health services is very low. For instance, in interviews, especially with older people, it appears the medical costs are very high, they complained about the affordability of medicine and services. The matter becomes even more worse when a patient needs to be referred to Tabora hospital or another distant village. Most medical centers are allocated about 5km – 15km away from the Centre. To most pregnant women, distance is another challenge that affects their livelihood. Most people use boda boda as a quick means of transport. However, frequent use of such transportation system adds-up more cost to such already low-income population. When I visited health facilities, I saw patient's line-up while waiting their turn to see the doctor. There was no specific procedure to prioritize elderly or pregnant women. I was told in an interview; the UN provided a vehicle (ambulance) to transport patients, but the vehicle broke down. Another interviewee told me the vehicle was overused to serve other villages surrounding the settlement.

In most cases, social structures and practices produce constraints that result in informalities which in principle limit people's choices. It is also normal such constraints leads to obstacles towards economic inclusion and limit economic growth. Heintz put it this way "Widespread informality - concerning employment, enterprises, and productive activities - is frequently perceived as a barrier to full participation in the economy and as a hindrance to long-run economic development and poverty reduction" (Heintz J;2012). Employment is one of the most important factors through which people get involved and control their economy. Through employment, individuals can participate in their economy and contribute to economic growth through tax and production. Employment is also one of the best ways to narrow economic/income gaps between rich and poor individuals (Heintz J; 2012). During my three-month ethnographic study in Ulyankulu, I

observed several forms of economic informalities that have contributed to the deterioration of life and overall community development. During that time, I found out the main effects of informalities in the settlement are corruption, excessive and unnecessary taxes, poor infrastructures, tough business regulations etc. These informalities are not only slowing down the economic growth within the settlement but also widening income gaps between low class and middle class NNTs. They also affect the production system, distribution and transactions of goods and services (Nestor Garcia Canclini; 2018) which in turn, disturbs the overall livelihood of majority in the settlement. An example of this situation and informality was reflected in one of my interviews with one NNTs teacher at Mirambo school. In the interview, I first wanted to know how she sees the overall employment situation, my point here was to find out if she was contented with her work and if there was any disturbing issues affects her job. In her comments, she said she is partly satisfied with her position, but there are issues need to be sorted out. When I wanted to know what exactly she meant by 'partly', she elaborated further that, in general the work environment was friendly, the main issues were low wage, lack of job promotion, and insecure contracts i.e. no pension when they retired. For a long time now, she told me, most NNTs have been working without promotion something which has reduced their morale to work hard. On my perspective, such informalities made NNTs feel like they are not equal citizens compared to other native Tanzanians. To my interviewee, these were some of the informalities that have led to unsustainable livelihood to her and many other public workers. When I asked if there were measures taken to address such challenges, they said there was a time when the government through the Prime Minister's office sent government officials to discuss teacher's challenges. They raised their complaints but to this day, nothing has been done, and no action has been taken to pursue teachers' claims. They said it was difficult for individual teacher to trace and make follow up on the claims they raised.

There are many reasons why NNTs in Ulyankulu are not employed within the formal sectors i.e. public or private formal. With the exception of few NNTs who have acquired college education, majority of NNTs especially youth have secondary/seventh-grade education. Lack of education is one of the reasons for high unemployment rate within the settlement. Due to this, many NNTs lack the competence and necessary skills to fit in the labor market. Most government jobs are mainly based on the applicant's level of education, so it is confusing to say directly that the main cause of unemployment to most NNTs, is due to social and economic exclusion. Lack of such necessary skills and competence has led many NNTs to start informal businesses such as agrobusiness, open a kiosk and/or small shops, and selling retail products. Here however, the main issues which underlying the economic exclusion among most NNTs in Ulyankulu remains unclear i.e. stereotypical exclusion or technical competence. It is unknown whether the exclusion it's a structural problem or it's technical issue (i.e. exclusion based on skills and competence). Another glimpse of informalities as per the interviews from NNTs include corruption and bureaucracy among tax officials, business insecurity, insecured working environment, harsh regulation/ evasion of the rule of law, unfair competition. The issue of economic corruption and bureaucracy in Ulyankulu as expressed by NNTs has two faces. On the one hand, corruption and bureaucracy appear also as a political informalities; this involves the issue of building permits and land management. But here, I want to focus on corruption and bureaucracy as economic informalities. About half of the interviewed NNTs who run business or service have admitted facing corruption and bureaucratic informalities. In most case, they said, when tax collectors and other

government officials come for taxes or business inspections, they may raise false accusations towards NNTs' business to benefit from the situation.

### **The Political informalities within Ulyankulu Settlement:**

The main political issue discussed during the interviews was the issue of lack of local political leaders within the settlement. In at least one-third of the interviews, the question of lack of local political representation (Diwani) has been discussed. They claim that, since the 2015 general elections, they have never had a local councilor. The councilor is the lower level of governance responsible for all socio-political welfare of the constituency. One of the things that interested me personally was to see the NNTs allowed to vote in the 2015 general elections. The voting was a few years after they have been registered as a citizen of Tanzania. But despite this political right to vote, their goal of having their local leader of their choice remains unsuccessful. They have been asking other government representatives to make a follow up on the Diwani issue, but the issue has not been resolved. When I asked why it is important to have a councilor while they have an Member of Parliament (MP), they said there are many social problems which are not addressed because of lack of representative (counsellor). They said, the MP deals with the whole District something which makes it hard for him to address all of Ulyankulu problems. One of my interviewees said, the issue of water shortage and corruption would not exist if they had a councilor. "A councilor would be our savior, many of our problems would not exist if we had a political representative at grassroot level". Another issue discussed with NNTs was lack of unit and negotiating power to solve their challenges as also discussed by (Goodfellow T; 2019). From my observation, most of NNTs disorganization, tribalism (i.e. lower-upper zone) and lack of strong unity are some of the major issues contribute to such political informalities i.e. lack of counsellor. By reflecting on how NNTs live, it will help to explain why such political informalities exist. Most NNTs live in polygamous or extended families, in most cases they live close to their relatives within the same neighborhood. This forms a social network could only address short term problems such as immediate family needs. This leave the major political issues and informalities untouched. Although such coalition of immediate family members or clans is important, but still it's not enough to build a strong influence to defend the broader interests of the whole community. As such, lobbying for the councilor need a holistic approach which involves the whole community members rather than close family members.

To understand why Ulyankulu has no representative to this day, one needs to understand the politics of the settlement itself. In one of the focus group discussion, with NNTs from different background, the issue of lack of counsellor reappeared. I thought it was a good time to raise and discussion the issue again, but this time I wanted to know what had been done or could be done to resolve the issue of not having a counsellor in the community. There were different issues discussed but in most cases the majority of the participants were complaining rather than addressing the issue. From such conversations, there was one thing I learned from people's arguments about the councilor. Although the participants did not clearly mention it, but it appeared to me, the desire to have such political leader had some hidden condition attached. It was not only a need for any councilor, but a counsellor with Burundian origin. This to most NNTs, would bring Burundian nationalism feeling and stand as a landmark and provide a symbolic Burundian-state within a foreign country. This desire for such political position carries more than a desire for legitimacy and solution for socio-political issues, but a symbolic



gestor of Burundian power in a foreign state. Let me be clear here, none of the NNT has explicitly stated that they want a representative for the reasons I mentioned above. This was based on my interpretation of the situation following different conversation with NNTs and a friend who was native Tanzanian. To explain why I felt this way, I'll go back sometime before I start collecting data. When I arrived in the Tabora town, a few days before going to Ulyankulu, a friend of mine told me there was a time NNTs had ever tried to raise a Burundian flag inside the settlement. They did so to proclaim independence and absolute authority within a foreign state. On other words, taking over power and full control of settlement. According to the informant, the issue prompted the Tanzanian government to take immediate action and send security forces into the settlement. To some extent, this conversation with my friend contributed to my view why the counsellor is very important to the NNTs. This claim however, should be ignored since it is not proven theoretically.

### **The Spatial Informalities within Ulyankulu Settlement:**

Many things emerged during my discussion with NNTs concerning spatial informalities. One of the major spatial informality is difficulties on accessing building permits. Other including the corruptions and resource allocation. Such kinds of informalities are the most disturbing spatial informalities discussed by NNTs. According to one interviewee, between the years 1990s and 2000s, when NNTs were still holding refugee status, they were able to build houses and established themselves without much pressure or restrictions from local authorities. I had an opportunity to interview many of those who built their houses in settlements in the early 1990s. Most admitted by then, many of them did not have to go through so much regulations and corruption to be able to build. They told me at some point in the past, they enjoyed the freedom to use the land uninterrupted as they are now. They complained that the current situation has been more discriminatory than before. I asked several NNTs if acquiring citizenship had increased restrictions or not. They said, some things were better handled during that time (before naturalization), and there are things which are better handled now than they were by then. When I wanted to know what was better then and what is better now, a 63-years old-man replied, "As I said earlier, in the 1990s there was no problem getting the permit, but now you hear everyone is complaining about the issue". He went on and say, "at the present times, there are many good things such as freedom of movement without permits something which was not easily attained by then". This suggests that spatial informalities have changed with time, how NNTs use their space for various activities such as construction and agriculture has changed from time to time.

Another type of land-related informality that was widely discussed by NNTs in interviews, is the invasion of host communities in the areas allocated for NNTs. However, with this issue, there are mixed feelings between indigenous and NNTs. When I spoke to many NNTs, they complained that the natives invaded the limited land allocated to them. One NNT told me "the land itself is small and yet the natives are invading it". When I asked a native Tanzanian to give his opinion about the land invasion within the settlement, he said, "we know the land was set for NNTs, but the settlement has developed so rapidly over short period of time. There are more economic benefits within the settlements compared to other neighboring villages, and this has attracted the locals to invade settlements for various reasons, including trade and social development". He continued "I must admit, these guys (NNTs) are by far with more social skills than us (native Tanzanians)". Judging by the progress seen in the settlement, Ulyankulu cannot be

compared with other villages in the surrounding areas. There are also native Tanzanians who addressed the issue of land invasion negatively. To them, NNTs would not have absolute right compared to a native Tanzanian. This was a bit harsh response, it expresses a lot about what real lies behind the NNTs-Host community relationship. For instance, when one humanitarian organization plan to drill boreholes within the settlement, the issue created tension between host community and the NNTs. Host communities refused drilling of boreholes in the settlement before the surrounding villages where most native Tanzanians live. This argument supports the statement above on what real lies between NNTs and host community relationship.

### **The Ways NNTs Deal with Informalities within the Settlement:**

The question of finding ways to resolve informality among the NNTs in Ulyankulu, especially the informalities I mentioned above, has two perspectives. First of all, to make myself clear, I have to identify what kind of informalities seem to affect the NNTs livelihood and what efforts have been made to resolve them. There are a variety of socio-cultural informalities that seem to have little or no direct impact on society. For example, when I asked one of the religious leaders about his views on sexual assault. He said, they sometimes get such abusive and gender inequality cases, although he admitted such cases are not too many and are not given attention. When I asked him, what did the church do to prevent such misconduct, he said, as religious leader, he urged the couples to refer to their faith, and if the case is sensitive, they advise the couples to go to the relevant authority such as the police or the court to resolve the issue. On the other hand, the economic informalities were solved differently. In a group discussion, I asked the participants how do they resolve economic informalities like unfair taxations and restrictive business laws. At different times they replied that, they cannot compete with the government, when they are asked by the corrupted authorities to give something 'kitu kidogo', they give it to them to get on with businesses, otherwise they won't be able to do business and yet they need to feed there families. I wanted to know if they had referred the matter to the central government, or the district commissioner. One of my interviewees replied and said, "if we go there, we will meet another problem (informality), which is a bureaucracy." He continued "if you start accusing these tax collectors to the district government, it takes a while to get feedback, a letter can take up to one month without being replied, at times they don't reply at all". He went on to say if the person you are reporting about knows you have spoken to the district commissioner, that escalates the problem. When I wanted to know what the NNTs community had done to solve this spatial informality issue. Many of them said they decided to build their houses secretly without involving the settlement leaders or without following formal procedures. One of the NNTs who built her house without following proper channels is my field assistant. She told me, when she realized the settlement authority was corrupted and are bureaucratic, she decided to build her house without involving the authority. However, while constructing her house, the authorities discovered what she was doing and harassed her. They wanted her to give them money (bribe). She said this kind of corruption is common and it makes NNTs' resilient to informalities as it keeps happening and no one seem to care.

Some of the respondents agreed there was existence of tension between host community and NNTs although it does not cause destruction. These tensions in Ulyankulu not only exist between host community and NNTs, but also between NNTs and authority. For instance, during the interview, I was told a story of two NNTs who asked the authority

about annual expenditures report. Since some officials were corrupt, it was obvious that the public funds were misused by the authorities. To cover their embezzlement scandal, the officials placed false charges to NNTs who asked about the expenditures. They were later taken to police and threatened to lose their citizenry. These cases resemble what Malkki explained — in case refugees resist this policy, they may be forced to be repatriated, or it means they would not be employed, or travel freely, or getting trade permits. They may even be prohibited from owning immovable property or establish open social networks (Malkki 1995).

### **Social Service Accessibility: How the NNTs Access and Use Social Services:**

Most NNTs mentioned acquiring health insurance and paying monthly insurance charges are some of the challenge they are facing when they get ill. Many of the interviewees believe it's important to have health insurance for their health. But their complain was about the high cost covering it. When I asked how much the insurance cost per month, I was told it was 30,000 TZS (13Euro). This amount is higher for someone with lower incomes, especially the old individuals. Insurance has been used to supplement and support government burden to provide such services. For those NNTs who can cover their health insurance, they have described the benefits to be profound in a way that, it reduces the burden of life especially for those with large families. For example, one of the widows I interviewed said she has nine children, she could not cover insurance for all nine of them, but at least she was able to cover two of her infants and two of the young one's age between 4 - 8. The rest of her children are above ten years old. To her and many women of her kind the insurance helped them to minimize the burden of running their families. On the other hand, there are those NNTs with different feelings and perspectives about the issue of insurance. As I mentioned earlier, some have complained that insurance is too expensive as a result they have failed to use it. When I wanted to know how they treat themselves when they fall sick; one of the interviewees told me they use alternative treatment. With alternative treatment he meant natural medicine such as local herbs. Others told me, if the illness does not real need medical attention from the doctor, they buy medicine at a pharmacy and treat themselves from home. This means, sometime when people opt not to use or participate in certain social initiative, It does not mean they are reluctant; at times they have strong reasons behind their behaviors. As I have explained before, in Ulyankulu, even though people know the importance of health insurance, still they have been unable to use it due to poor income. In an interview with a retailer, he told me, the health insurance might have been a threshold for the government to intervene health challenges in Ulyankulu and its surroundings. He said, insurance would not be a problem to many NNTs if a pre-analysis study on people's income was done. For example, he said, the whole point of health insurance is to minimize the burden and help people to be treated. But if the beneficiaries were unable to afford the costs, two things had to be done, the first thing he said, was to reduce the cost to the degree that NNTs would be able to afford it. Secondly, the government and aid agencies would contribute to the costs (subsidize) especially for the elderly and pregnant women.

In terms of education, through the interviews, many NNTs admitted there is access to education. From my observation, I saw many young NNTs attending classes in different school. To many NNTs the situation has improved than how it was almost twenty years ago in the 1990s. Generally, within the settlement, according to NNTs, access to education has been fruitful and has contributed in some way to the well-being of the NNTs. To understand the contribution of education we must look at the whole educational trend

from the 1990s to 2000s. While conducting several interviews, I noted that, in the 1990s many parents were unable to educate their children for various reasons. One of the main reasons was that, majority of inhabitants by then were living in poverty and they were not well established. Many of them, noted that in the 1990s children were unable to go to school because they did not have uniforms, parents had no fees and schools were too far away from the settlement. According to their description, at that time many NNTs were still unable to sustain themselves economically and socially as they are now. By most accounts, the developments seen now in the settlement such as proper houses began to appear toward the end of 1990s. This description shows how economic growth within the settlement contributes to educational development to many of the NNTs. During that period, there were grants from foreign organizations, I was told organizations like UNHCR were funding one child in every family to go to school. Despite that grant's assistant, the impact was minimal because many NNTs families had more than one child in many households. Therefore, to educated one child out of five for instance, did not help much in many communities and families during that time. It should be noted that, despite that limited grant assistance, other NNTs admitted the grant had helped them to educate some family members.

The availability of free education to some extent improve NNTs lives compared to how the situation was in 1990s. Some of the benefits that education brings to NNTs community in Ulyankulu, is to help NNTs especially youth to adapt their environment. Through education, many of NNTs between 7 – 20 years have had the opportunity to learn not only what is taught in the classroom. But also, to recognize the environment, Tanzanian cultures and prepare them to be better citizens. The school curriculums provide students with an opportunity to learn citizenship education (civil education subjects taught in classes). This is a great opportunity for students to understand the culture and Tanzania general livelihood. For example, one of the direct contributions attained from education is the maintenance of peace, solidarity and love among traumatized individuals. This is an important aspect that contributes to the well-being of the Ulyankulu community especially among young generation. Education has also helped young Tanzanians of Burundians origin to learn and speak fluent Swahili. Apart from such contribution, access to education help students to identify their major challenges such as health issues, water scarcity, culture differences etc. and learning how to solve them.

Access to education has been one of the major sources of employment in Ulyankulu and the surrounding villages. As many NNTs complain about unemployment, it is good to know the link between education and access to employment. In other words, it is vital to know how lack of education and incompetence among NNTs impact their chances in labor market. As I explained above, there has been a direct link between education and access to employment. There are several NNTs who complained that, they are not employed in government and other formal sectors because of low level of education. Majority are either seventh grade or form two graduates with limited competence. Most government or promising jobs require candidates to have a minimum qualification of at least a diploma or certificate for a particular profession. In this context, I see how access to education has contributed negatively to labor market among NNTs. This is like a cycle; education gives access to employment - employment give access to social service like access to proper health system which improve school attendance. The breakdown of this cycle may affect and slow down the whole process towards sustainable livelihood. For those who have been fortunate enough to get education, they have been using it to benefit themselves and their young generation. Access to education has led to innovations within

the settlement. For example, one of my interviewees has used her animal health and production education to recruit himself and serve the community of farmers and livestock keepers. With diploma certificate in animal health and production, he was employed at Ngara but due to low wages, he decided to quit his job and return to Ulyankulu. While in Ulyankulu, he decided to be creative and employed himself in order to get rid of his poor living conditions. Some have used their education to do business and to exercise political, social or cultural influence. For example, one 61-years-old man told me how he left the accounting profession in 2010 and use his skills to start a business. All of these provide an overview of how people in Ulyankulu use the social services such as education and employment to meet their daily needs in their environment. How they struggle to develop their communities and bring prosperity to their families depends not only on agency, but a need for structural reform to enable NNTs to evade many of their obstacles, this is with profoundly importance for sustainable livelihood to be achieved.

### **Conclusion:**

From the above discussion, there are different informalities which have been discussed during my discussions. Some of the informalities include socio-cultural inequalities, political, economic and spatial informalities. Socio-cultural informalities include sexual abuse, forced marriage/early marriage, patriarchal system whereby man rule over women in socio-economic aspects in households. From the external perspective, there is normal interaction between man and women. However, after a thorough study, I learned there are signs of gender inequality. To some women, the term gender inequality just means man masculinity and patriarchal system which favor man than women. Another informality was the economic informality. Some of the main economic informalities include the corruption, excessive and unnecessary taxes, poor infrastructures, tough business regulations. The third informality was the political informality. During the interviews, the issue of lack of local political leaders within the settlement emerged. NNTs claim that, since the 2015 general elections, they have never had a local counselor. However, I learned that, although it was not made clear, but it appeared the desire to have political representatives had some hidden agenda. It was not only a desire for a counselor, but a counsellor with Burundian origin as a landmark and a symbolic Burundian-state within a foreign country. The spatial informality emerged during the discussion. One of the major spatial informality is difficulties on accessing building permits. Other including the corruptions and resource allocation. During the interviews, respondents claimed between the years 1990s and 2000s, most NNTs were able to build houses and established themselves without pressure or restrictions from local authorities. They complained that the current situation has been more discriminatory than before.

## **CHAPTER SIX: LOCAL INTEGRATION AND LOCAL SETTLEMENT:**

### **Introduction:**

This chapter focuses on three empirical aspects i.e. the land ownership, building/housing permits issues and role played by humanitarian agents. The two schools of thought have been introduced; one follows the line of Jeffrey Sachs Big Five concepts alongside the six capitals. On the other hand, another line of thought from Karen Jacobsen has been incorporated to show how sustainable livelihood and settlement establishment as best integration practice affects the use of resources such as land. I have also shown how different states in Africa use integration and establishment of settlements to serve two purposes i.e. to help the NNTs but at the same time as a way to promote local development such as roads, infrastructures, etc. This being said, Ulyankulu is still one of the settlements which have not received UNHCR's support since 1980s.

### **Land Ownership and Control.**

The idea of establishing local settlement in most African countries sometimes has hidden agendas. To some states like Uganda and Tanzania, the settlement and local integration were not only used to facilitate the state desire to self-sustained integrated population; but also, to bring development to local communities (Karen Jacobsen; 2001). To some humanitarian agents, the idea of providing humanitarian assistance to NNTS and not the host states, is irrelevant as discussed by Jacobsen "The problem is not simply how best to help refugees, but given the climate of restrictive and temporary asylum, it is about how to find solutions that are acceptable to host countries – for without the host country's acquiescence and active involvement it will be much more difficult to help refugees. In many ways, it is as important to focus on the needs and constraints of host countries and governments as much as on those of refugees" (Karen Jacobsen; 2001). These states often come up with some integration plans that intend to organize and manage all aspects of the settlements such as land use and mobility policy. With such plans at their disposal, most of them have failed to keep their promises, as Karen Jacobsen put it: "In Tanzania in the 1970s, each family was given a minimum of ten acres of land for farming," although it was not clear if the policy and planning was going to be implemented and what will be the rights among NNTs (Karen Jacobsen; 2001). Amelia Kuch further explained "The Tanzania Strategy for Local Integration Program for the New Citizens (TANSPLI), drafted in 2016, stipulates the creation of a master land use plan for the settlements and the surrounding areas, followed by the registration of villages in each settlement and provision of documentation for land rights" (Kuch A; 2018). In some cases, that act of establishing settlement was not driven by the desire to benefit the former refugees to attain self-reliance, but rather a desire to promote the local development of their own people. Some host states have used the settlements not primarily as a way to achieve local integration, but instead to prevent it (Kibreab 1989).

To some host countries, settlements have some economic and political benefits such road construction, asylum can also be registered as voters during election to support ruling party and local economies development as explained by Jacobsen "It is common in official settlement programs for governments to utilize refugees directly for development" (Jacobsen K; 2001). Despite such positive development ambitions among host countries to utilize the opportunity of refugees' settlements to develop local communities, this

normally comes with some setbacks and challenges. In Ulyankulu for instance, many of the naturalized individuals have raised some complaints about land uses and building permit restrictions, some went further and complained about their freedom of movement with false charges against the local authorities (Jacobsen K;2001). There are many reasons why some of the hosting governments choose settlements to integrate former refugees. For instance, there are some cases, especially in camps whereby former refugees seem less productive and highly dependent on the aid and government support. In other words, this means they are unable to support government development initiatives. This eventually leads to the economic crisis in those hosting communities which leaves the government the burden to provide basic needs to its citizens and NNTs alike. Herewith these setbacks, the most realistic approach to overcome such impediments is through settlement said Kibreab's "most realistic" approach for African host countries is the local settlement option."

Kibreab point of view as quoted by (Jacobsen K; 2001), says sometimes such former refugees settlements and camps are used as a strategic method to displace or relocate former refugees or refugees away from specific villages and communities where they seem to pose a burden or fear to either the state or the local community. Economically again, NNTs and refugees alike seem to create competition in service provision and resource consumption "Kibreab's position is reflected in the widely held view of host governments that refugees should be restricted to camps or settlements because there they are less likely to compete with locals for scarce resources such as land, jobs and environmental resources (e.g. water, rangeland or firewood), and are less likely to burden existing infrastructure such as schools, housing, and health facilities." (Karen Jacobsen; 2001). A case like that was raised during field visit whereby local Tanzanians complained that NNTs only buy goods and services from other NNTs and not from their host counterparts. Reflecting this concept to the data collected in Ulyankulu, one can argue the majority of NNTs have the capability to maneuver and fit-in the environment. This means a development in places like Ulyankulu was possible because of NNTs present. In an interview, one local respondent admitted that, if it wasn't for NNTs Ulyankulu would be less developed than it is now. According to many of the NNTs, the settlement administration is said to be corrupted and unfair, sometimes they ask for money to allow NNT to build or acquire land. Such criminal tendency by the local authorities has created an atmosphere of fear and uncertainty which in turn it promotes unofficial and improper land usage.

### **How do NNTs settle in Ulyankulu:**

The majority of NNTs in Ulyankulu can maneuver through different socio-economic activities (i.e. subsistence agriculture, retailing and services vending). These activities help them to handle their daily informalities and livelihood challenges such as lack of formal employment. According to many of the NNTs, the settlement administration is said to be corrupted and unfair, sometimes they ask for money to allow NNT to build or acquire land. According to the data collected from the field, the majority of the NNTs in Ulyankulu have access to resources or own assets i.e. house, land, and other properties. However, that access to properties is problematic with some shortcomings such as strict permits, land being sold to more than one person among others. There have been several complaints among NNTs on policy and unfair laws that still oppress them and question their livelihood. One of the major complaints was the existence of the Law Act. 9 and Law. Act. 7 which was enacted in the 1998 to control the welfare of refugees in settlements

and camps. The Act. 9 says how the refugees should be controlled and administered. It was enacted to deal with refugees' issues in 1998 before the integration of NNTs. However, as of present, NNTs are still guided by the same laws which was meant for refugees regardless change in their status as NNTs. Many NNTs argue applicability of such laws means their integration gives them de facto citizenship status. The majority of naturalized in Ulyankulu depend on natural resource especially land in production. As mentioned earlier, the majority of the NNTs own land or farm, and agriculture is common activity among most NNTs, such resource according to IDS and DFID can be defined as natural capital. Both NNTs and local Tanzanians have on different occasions agreed to participate in social activities. Funerals, weddings, intermarriage and community development initiatives such as the renovation of Mirambo Secondary school -- such networks, coordination, and relations can be one of the social capitals. Furthermore, the human capital can be classified into two categories, one of those NNTs who have low knowledge, poor skills and limited ability to work such as widows, children, disabled and older people. This group seems to be disadvantaged and left out, they seem to face the challenge of proper livelihood, a story told by my assistant reveals the problem of human capital facing some member of the Ulyankulu settlement. On the other hand, there are those individuals who are able to work, most of them are youth between 29 to 45 years but with relative skills, knowledge due to low education level or unequal opportunity. On the other hand, insufficient cash flow and low monetary circulation, absence of credit/debit services and banking savings within Ulyankulu have caused a constant, deterioration of economic activities and assets. This lack of financial capital has also slowed down the production of basic infrastructure such as roads and equipment which are also vital for the attainment of any livelihood strategy (Krantz L; 2001).

As explained by the (dTS: 2014) one of the characteristics of social integration is that it creates reciprocal interaction between the host community and refugees. This creates and maintains the social bonds and links within that particular community (dTS: 2014). Gaim Kibreab further highlights as he refers to local communities in Kigoma, he said local communities tend to have a stereotypical perspective toward Burundian refugees. He claimed, most host communities in Kigoma identify Burundian refugees as conflict-oriented with violent background, hence categorize them as dangerous others. On the other hand, the refugees have also complained about how they have been mistreated by their host communities (Gaim Kibreab 1999). In Ulyankulu, the interaction and bond between the host community and NNTs have been said to be of peaceful existence. In most interviews, NNTs claim to have strong a bond with their host community, there has been a sign that the NNTs and host communities coexist peacefully. Many have participated in community activities, for instance, one of the Muslim clergies confessed that non-Muslims brothers gave about 45% of the support they received. This shows how strong the bond and interaction are in Ulyankulu. In a different scenario, a Burundian origin with two wives said one of his wives is of Tanzanian origin, this proves the fact that inter-marriage real exists which is another factor for peaceful coexistence. My assistant is a product of intermarriage, her father is a Tanzanian citizen by birth. These and many other stories convinced me there are great links and bonds among the host and the integrated. However, it is important to note that, the conflicts and tension among NNTs themselves or with host communities oscillates. There has been several records from the interviews which challenge such the reciprocal intervention between the host community and refugees. This can be reflected by the work of Sharon Nambuya et al who wrote: "Interaction with refugees can produce tensions and conflict, or it can produce peaceful co-existence" (Sharon S. Nambuya, et al; 2018).



Referring to Chambers et al (1991) school of thought, I can see how the issue of livelihood, sustainability and capability emerged especially concerning natural capital. The equity concept for instance which refers to an adequate and decent livelihood experience has reflected the issue of land management and housing permits in Ulyankulu. This has some effects on former refugees' sustainability since the imposition of land ownership impediments resulted in unsustainable livelihood. This again goes back to the notion of using the settlement as a means to have a development which according to such states is the ultimate goal of the settlements. From the data collected from the field, the majority of those interviewed in Ulyankulu have access to resources i.e. house, land and other properties. It is important to note that there is a direct link between land accessibility and the success of local integration. Economically speaking, extensive use of land by NNTs has several impacts on the livelihood of host communities as mentioned above. However, with such extensive land use with less economic power: here NNTs become a burden to their host/government when they over-utilize resources that affect host communities' decent livelihood i.e. housing, health, educational development, the labor market and the environment (Karen Jacobsen; 2001). It is important to revisit the issue of land ownership in settlements due to the fact that most settlements are located in isolated rural areas with fertile land and rich natural vegetations which are important components for rural economic development. The availability of fertile land in such settlements motivates economic productivity among NNTs and host communities alike. In some communities such as in Guinea and Mexico, local communities have strong ties to their land, in Guinea, the last person to use the land for a specific period has the right to own it (Karen Jacobsen; 2001) legally. This seemed as favoring policy to NNTs and refugees, in Mexico on the other hand, the land policy is a bit strict, only the locals are allowed to own land and it is most likely they will refuse outsiders to have to control their land (Karen Jacobsen; 2001). In Ulyankulu the land uses, tensions and land control issues cross-cuts between the host states (especially the local authority who misuse their power for self-gain) against the NNTs. On the other hand, the disputes between local communities and the NNTs as what happened in Ulyankulu when NNTs denied local to own land within the settlement claiming it was preserved for NNTs. At some point, the former refugees claimed and complained that the local authority has been an obstacle for land ownership, the authority poses restrictions and control extensive the use of land within the settlement. On the other hand, the tension between host communities and NNTs emerged after NNTs claimed the land in the settlement is theirs and no local Tanzanians is entitled to own the land. From different interviews, it was repeatedly narrated by the NNTs and Locals alike that there is tension on land control and uses among the two ethnic groups. Many NNTs believe the land allocated to them is limited, taking into account the rapid population growth in the settlement.

### **Role played by Humanitarian Agents:**

The discourse of humanitarian aid has changed over time as scholars try to incorporate different discussions towards reliable solutions to end vulnerability. Basing my argument by referring to Jeffrey Sachs, I intend to reveal the humanitarian gaps that exist in Ulyankulu settlement and how the NNTs views the situation. According to Sachs J (2005) for poverty to be eradicated in the world, the poorest should be lifted up to be able to climb up what he called the development ladder which hangs overhead of the poorest -- a 'poverty trap'. As it is to Chambers et al (1991) and other international Organizations who focus on the four capitals of Sustainable Livelihood Approach, Sachs also claims that,

the main reason why the poorest can't reach the hanging ladder, it's because they lack six 'capitals' namely Knowledge Capital such as scientific and technical know-how, Natural capital arable lands, business capital such as money, infrastructural capital such as roads, public capital such as judicial system and human capital such as health care (Sachs J; 2005). Here the connection between Sachs J (2005) six capitals namely above and Chambers et al (1991) five capitals help to determine the existing relationship between humanitarian aid and livelihood development. Based on Sachs, development discourse is defined in terms of capital which do not mature from one generation to another thus they (the poor) fall in what he called 'poverty trap'. Taking Sachs school of thought into the Ulyankulu settlement perspective, data obtained from interviews indicated what Sachs termed as 'poverty trap' do exist in the settlement and there is no sign of ending soon. Lack of essential social services support and humanitarian aid in such rapid population growth settlement is one of the factors which causes that trap. Although in Ulyankulu, there have been signs of transfer of resources from one generation to another, for instance, the land transfer or houses transfer from father to son/daughter -- it is not clear or guaranteed however if that transfer of capital can free NNTs from the poverty trap. From the experience learned from the field, most of the humanitarian agents such as the UN withdraw their assistance a while ago and form a claiming Milner "some of the camps that need to be closed, were not part of UNHCR support since the 1980s" (Milner 2014:559). The government, on the adverse, seems to have less concern about social services provided to such an isolated community which means the trap still holds the NNTs captives. There has been a lack of funding to support social initiatives in Ulyankulu such as water supply and health care services. According to Kush A. (2018) she claimed "However, the timeline for implementation is unclear. It "hinges on the availability of funding for the planned development projects," (Kuch A; 2018). Putting things into perspective and view it in Sachs school of thought, Ulyankulu settlement lacks a ladder (which according to Sachs the ladder is capital) and so do the six capitals to insure they free themselves from the poverty trap. Lack of water and unreliable health service are some of the common problems in Ulyankulu. During my visit to the settlement, I was introduced to the Church World Service (CWS) office which is now taken by the local authority office. The office was located a few steps from the bus station in the town center. CWS uses to drill boreholes (ngojobsinafrica: Nov. 2017) and supply was to the settlement. When I asked why the government took the office, my informant CWS told me that one of the International organizations which withdraw its support. At that time, the researcher was told there was a conflict with a neighboring village on water supply. CWS had a project that aimed to supply water to the settlement, but due to corruption and poor leadership, the water project was pushed to the next village. It seems the neighboring villages have water supply while its only Ulyankulu who has no supply.

## **Conclusion.**

From the discussion above, I laid-down and sketch broadly two ideas that cross-cut to bring into perspective the land ownership issues in settlements. This was presented in-line with the role played by humanitarian agents to improve the livelihood of NNTs. Some host states have preferred the idea of local integration through settlement due to several reasons (Jacobsen K; 2001). Some of these reasons are economic development of the host community while some states the integration and establishment of settlements aim to serve the NNTs rather than the host. On the other hand, Sachs suggested more development recipe for humanitarian agents and International organizations to eradicate poverty, he proposed the discourse of Big Five development interventions which include

the agriculture inputs intervention, power, transport and communication intervention, safe water and sanitation intervention, investment in education intervention and health intervention. Perhaps the intervention mentioned above according to Sachs could be a remedy to most people in Ulyankulu, however, the debate is still open for further contribution.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN: INTERACTION BETWEEN HOST COMMUNITY AND NNTs:**

### **7.1 Introduction.**

Over recent years, there has been an evolution of refugee policies among African states, this evolution according to Rutinwa B. (1999) may be classified into two periods. The first is the period lies between the year 1960s and 1990s while the second one comes after that (Rutinwa B; 1999). Between late 1980s and in the 1990s, there has been a shift in most African countries on how they deal with the issues of refugees from open refugee policies to strict refugee policies (Rutinwa B;1999). In recent years, the more the refugee's crisis get intense, the more the African states have become vigorous with strong policy and less committed to solving the problems (Rutinwa B;1999). This trend however give a different picture in other parts of the world where the refugee crisis seems to be controlled. In Africa, the number of refugees increase as claimed by Rutinwa B. (1999). "While elsewhere in the world the number of refugees has decreased, in Africa, the refugee problem has grown both in magnitude and complexity" (Rutinwa B;1999). There are many reasons and arguments as to why most African states have introduced tough policies. One of the factors is the issue of internally and externally insecurity in most African states (Rutinwa B;1999). As I will explain later, there has been some cases of criminal acts and disputes within host states either between locals and NNTs or among NNTs themselves as explained by Rutinwa B. (1999) "Internally, some criminal elements among refugees have caused a multitude of problems to host populations including armed banditry, poaching and other crimes". In this chapter, I also discuss on the issues of cultural diffusion and genealogical of newly naturalized Tanzanians. Here, I engage my arguments more on how local and NNTs cultures affect and compromise with each other and explain the power relationships among NNTs from upper zone and lower zones in Burundi and how their historical backgrounds contribute to this tension even years after being naturalized.

### **Cultural Diffusion and Genealogical.**

In this session, I review the two main concepts of cultural diffusion among NNTs themselves and between them and their host communities. I also explain what are the key driving factors for such diffusion. I have examined how such cultural diffusion affects the local and I also analyze the reciprocity or mutuality of cultural diffusion between the host and NNTs. Secondly, I trace the genealogical trend of such behaviors and how they impact the current livelihood situation in the settlement. The issue of multiculturalism has been seen in many settlements and camps in Africa. The complexity of culture can even be seen from people who share the same background and ethnicity like Hutu as put by Obodoruku B. (2017) during her research in Tanzania, she said "This research also investigated how refugees in Tanzania fit into the society and examined the multiculturalism of refugees by reviewing cultural diversity and cultural identity relating to various ethnic groups". There is some evidence from different literatures such as Obodoruku B. (2017) work, in some (if not all) settlements, the interaction between NNTs themselves, and between them and their host creates some sort of a new culture, which is a result of the interaction between local culture/tradition alongside that one of NNTs. These multi-cultures in the settlements, might be caused by several factors other than historical background, for instance mode of production in a particular place can contribute to the formation of a new culture of purchasing goods. This argument can be

supported by Obodoruku B. (2017) “These differences are occasionally driven by political or economic objectives conveyed by various cultural or ethnic groups to achieve their goals.” Referring this case to Ulyankulu settlement for instance, the case of multiculturalism can be influenced by different issues such as the socio-economic factors (Obodoruku B;2017). From the settlement, there was a economic or production tradition diffuse from host communities to NNTs. For instance, in most places in Tanzania, once or twice a week, rural places come together in what they term a ‘common market’, whereby sellers and buyers from settlement and surrounding villages meet in one place to offer their services and products. The NNTs have highly adopted this economic culture to sell their agricultural products such as tobacco. Apart from cultural-economic diffusion from host to NNTs in Ulyankulu, another cultural aspect transfused from host to the former refugees is the political culture. In Ulyankulu as part of Tanzania, there are local political systems which guide the livelihood and welfare of such community. As it is in another part of the country, Ulyankulu must have representative who will represent its inhabitants’ interests to the district government. This political culture has been adapted by the NNTs, which includes the ways they present their philosophical ideas and argument, the way they seek to be voted as local leaders and the way they cast vote to elect leaders. On the other hand, there are some evidence that shows the NNTs cultures have diffused and impact host community’s livelihood. For instance, Burundians are known as hard working social classes perhaps more than their host (personal interview; 2019). The hard-working behavior has also been diffused to host community. Secondly, from the interviews, most local communities have adapted the culture of vigorously and aggressiveness, it should be known, most of Burundian former refugees are aggressive due to the traumatized experience from the genealogical and historical experience they have gone through.

### **Perception on Ancestry Belonging.**

Burundi is made up of different ethnic groups including the Hutu, (the Bantu group which make up to 85%) while the Tutsi who are the Hamitic make up to 14% of the entire population. Twa who are Pygmy are the minority and make up to 1% of the population (Groeslsema, R. 1995). The indigenous occupants of Burundi are said to be a group of people who were/are called the Batwa (Groeslsema, R. 1995). In early years between 1301 – 1400 the Hutu shares a common language and customs while the Tutsi mostly were the descendants of a herding group came a century later from the north as Groeslsema put it “They achieved political domination through their feudal system, and founded Burundi’s first kingdom early in the 16th century. They dominated the area almost entirely. Although the Bahutu, Batutsi, and Batwa preserved their own customs and traditions, a common Burundi culture emerged, with a common language, Kirundi.” (Groeslsema, R. 1995). The sense of belonging among the former refugees in Ulyankulu has mixed perceptions, most of NNTs believes they belong to Tanzania after the integration process and after they gain Tanzanian citizenship. They feel safer and more at home in Ulyankulu than Burundi, in several interviews with former refugees. When I asked them why they decided to remain in Ulyankulu or Tanzania and sought for citizenship instead of returning to Burundi, they told me, there were some few people (5000) who opted to repatriate back to Burundi. To such group, that sense of belonging in a foreign country was not as strong as it was to others. But most people from the interviews decided to stay because Ulyankulu feels like home to them and connects with the place better than Burundi. One interviewee said if he and family decide to move out

of the country, this means he has to sacrifice his house and all that he has raised in Ulyankulu for the last two years.

### **Power Relation Between Upper and Low Zone Burundians.**

Although the Hutu are the largest ethnic group in Burundi which makes them the majority, they were/are regarded as a minority in some respects. With only 14% out of all people in Burundi, the Tutsi for many years have managed to control and dominate the economy, the judiciary, political aspects, the military, the civil service and the education system. This leaves other ethnic groups especially the Hutu victims of ethnic-political violence (Filip Reyntjens; 2000). With this fact, it's not always the majority oppresses the minority, but sometimes it's the vice versa. Here we can see despite being majority in term of size, the Hutu were minority in socio-political aspects. This leaves all three ethnic (i.e. Twa, Tutsi and Hutu) groups minority in one sense and majority on the other (Filip Reyntjens; 2000). The Twa are the most disadvantageous group who are both socio-political and demographic minority while the Tutsi who make 14% are said to be minority demographically while majority politically. The Hutu are minority in relation to their Tutsi counterparts in maintaining political and economic power while majority demographically (Filip Reyntjens; 2000). Majority of the interviewees of both Tanzania and Burundi origin have claimed to coexist peacefully. When I asked different interviewees whether there are ethnic or religious conflicts within the settlements and how it affects their livelihood, most claimed local and NNTs live peacefully. Even though Christianity dominates the settlement, there was no record of tension or religious discrimination between Christians and Muslims. From the data collected during the field, I wanted to know how the newly registered citizens co-exists with their fellow citizens. In a surprising comment, one interviewee admitted there is less tension between host and former refugees. However, there is systematic tension between Hutus themselves. The tension exists since 1970s in Burundi among Hutu from upper-land and low-land zone. This tension extended to the settlement years after the genocide. When I asked my interviewee if the government knows about such conflicts, and if it has intervened, she replied "the government knows about it, and that is the reason why local community and the authority disrespect us and despise us — they can't even allow us to build our houses". The upper zone Burundian has similar characteristics to those of Tutsi, more elites and possess power and have political influence more than the Hutus from the lower lands said the interviewee. This has historical genealogical aspects and reflects how people interact in the settlements. Power and hegemony between the periphery and those in the center are not only between Tutsi and Hutu or Hutu and Twa, but rather sometimes between members of the same ethnic background i.e Hutus.

### **Conflicts and Insecurity Intensification.**

Most of the time scholars have explained the relationship between host communities and refugees or NNTs as uncomfortable relation with fear, threats and violence (Howarth, A. and Ibrahim, Y: 2012). Furthermore, I asked a few interviewees in Ulyankulu, if there are conflicts (either religious, cultural or social conflicts) within the settlements and how it affects their livelihood, most claimed local and NNTs live peaceful. They responded that, even though Christians are majority, there was no record of tension or religious discrimination between Christians and Muslims. They told me, if there is conflict, it just normal conflicts which could exist in any other community elsewhere. However, some of the Tanzanians interviewees seem to have different experiences with NNTs. They think

there is underground tension between local and NNTs especially on land ownership. In principal, most NNTs in the settlement think they are entitled and the primary landowner within the settlement, whoever comes in the settlement with a status other than NNTs or refugees, is not entitled to own land said one interviewee.

### **Criminality and Insecurity in Ulyankulu.**

Throughout the interviews, I asked individual respondents whether local and NNTs live peacefully, they responded, there are conflicts among locals themselves, especially between farmers and livestock keepers. These kinds of conflicts are common in Tanzania when livestock cross paths and destroy crops of farmers. As explained above, at some point NNTs with Hutu origin from upper-land and low-land zone tend to hate and despise each other. This tension originated from Burundi and extended to the settlement years after the genocide. When I asked if the government knows about such conflicts, and if it has intervened, the respondent replied “the government knows about it, and that is the reason why local community and the authority disrespect us and mistreat us – they can’t even allow us to build our houses”. In a different occasion, I asked ward educational coordinator to describe who are the most likely to do criminal offense between local and NNTs, he said both local and NNTs are most likely to conduct criminal offense. He said, most NNTs accuse the local for robbery within the settlement, and local especially from neighboring villages accuse NNTs and other refugees for the same deeds. However, in his concluding remarks the interviewee admitted local and NNTs coexist peacefully. I then asked what could be done to stop or prevent criminality? the interviewee replied and said he thinks NNTs should be relocated to different settlements or camps or cities. One of the interviewees, claimed they have been mistreated and threatened by some of the authorized officials especially when they ask about public spending. The authority has threatened to cancel their citizenship and some people have been taken to police several times with false accusations such as an attempt to burn the UN’s office – they were told to report to the police station every end of the month.

The conflicts in Ulyankulu does not only affects the livelihood of host and NNTs, but it has implications to other stakeholders such as Tanzanian government. According to the interviews — at some point the UN wanted to drill water wells and borehole to supply water in the settlement, but the local authority refused the project with a claim that, local Tanzanians should be considered first before the refugees. During an interview conducted in a focus group discussion, some surrounding villages deny water supply to Ulyankulu settlement before they have it first. Despite such conflicts, those boreholes and wells are said to be seasonal and short which he said it’s difficult to find water. Some interviewees suggested possible ways to minimize tension and conflicts. Other said the mistakes were done before the integration. They claimed before such huge number of refugees were registered as citizens, they were supposed to be given civil education on how to be good and responsible citizens — for him NNTs are arrogant and not law-abiding citizens something lead to crime in the society. When I sought for information on what role did religious institutions played to minimize the tension and conflicts, he told me the Church did improve the livelihood situation of such marginalized community. According to one priest, he claimed the church has done several things such as advocate for naturalization of Burundian, reconciling ethnic conflicts when they arise and other social development activities like social clubs and facilitate formation of ‘Savings and Credit Co-Operative Society - SACCOS’.

### **Corruption And Legal Implications:**

There has been some cases and complaints among former refugees in Ulyankulu regarding corruption allegations toward local authorities. Statistically speaking, seven out of ten of those who were interviewed mentioned one of the major livelihood setbacks in the settlement is corruption. Corruption according to the respondents crosscut in main sectors including housing, land ownership, permits, taxations among others. Here, to make myself clear, I divide corruptions into two types. The first type of corruption is a strategic corruption whereby those in power use their power and authority to oppress and benefit from those vulnerable and weak NNTs. Through this type of corruption NNTs have been controlled to own land and built their houses, they have been ignored their rights to build as any other citizens. The other corruption I have observed is systematic corruption (Nezhina Tamara; 2014). This happens when NNTs are accused of crime they have not done and taken to jail or taken to police simply by questining those in power about public expenditures. Ulyankulu has a tendency of convening public meetings with settlement officials to check-and-balance the public expenditures. But since the district government is not full monitoring the livelihood in the settlement, those who are in-charge misuse their power and accuse member of the public with false claims. This systematic corruption can also be seen in places such as Mirambo school whereby a number of teachers with Burundi origin have been complained to me that they have been discriminated and unfairly treated when it comes to employment terms and conditions. Although some NNTs teachers have been working for over ten years, they were not promoted to junior positions and yet local Tanzanians with less experience were promoted. These and many other stories have made Ulyankulu a place with high level of corruption and in return the people find different illegal ways to go about the situation.

### **Conclusion.**

In this chapter, I discussed the issues of cultural diffusion and genealogyl of newly naturalized Tanzanians. Here I engaged and explained how local and NNTs cultures affect and compromise with each other and explain the power relationships among NNTs especially those from upper zone and lower zones in Burundi and how their historical backgrounds contribute to this tension even in asylum. I have further discussed on how corruption prevent livelihood and social development in the settlements. There are two forms of corruption seen from the field visit. One is a holistic approach in which the whole system and not individual is involved indiscriminating others i.e. former refugees from the social systems. Another form of corruption discussed highly by the former refugees themselves is the systemic corruption (Nezhina Tamara; 2014) whereby the individual authority staff who use their power and authorities to benefit from the stateless settlement. I have also highlighted the issues of ancestry and belonging on how the current generation view their history and how it affects their current and future livelihood within the camp and outside.



## **CHAPTER EIGHT: ANALYTICAL FINDINGS:**

### **Introduction**

In this conclusion, I reflect to the research questions to determine to what extent do the questions are in-line with the data and findings from the field. How much the research questions have helped me to gather relevant data. Here, my reflection to the research questions help me to bring the analytical conclusion. With such analysis, I present my arguments by linking the theoretical framework and empirical experience and data collected from the field. I finalize my arguments with different propositions on how to improve the livelihood situation of Newly Naturalized Tanzania in Ulyankulu settlement. I present my arguments by analyzing and recommend what should be done to solve the social services challenges such as insecurity, unemployment and poor health services. I have finalized my work by highlighting three main recommendations. The first recommendation focuses on the importance of policy reform and suggests some suggestions that might be useful to tackle similar challenges in the future. Secondly, I explain how vital the structural reforms for sustainable and durable solution for protracted refugees need to be achieved. I have done so by highlighting what are the social and political structures that hinder the success of such policy. My concluding remarks are therefore sub-divided into policy, structure and governmentality reforms and how it might impact the plans and policy regarding protracted refugees and NNTs. After analysing the data collected from the field, in this chapter I therefore present the key findings on how NNTs live and deal with challenges such as corruptions and insecurities. How they interact between themselves and their host communities. How they adapt new cultures and how their own cultures diffuse to host communities. From this findings, I present the findings in two categorically distinctions from NNTs from those of Local Tanzanians. This was specifically to show the similarities and distinctions between the host and NNTs. Nevertheless, in order to triangulate the findings, I separate the findings from the two groups.

### **Emperical Findings**

From the data collected from the field, there are a number of findings that can be illustrated in this thesis. One of the key findings is inadequate public services such as water supply, clinics and education centres. The absence of such services revealed how how people cope with their surroundings and moreover how NNTs interact with host community. Through my findings, I learned that, access to the health services such as clinics in Ulyankulu is problematic due to the fact that there is only one health centre in town while other health centres are located about 20km away. There is also lack of medicines and professional doctors in those clinics within the settlements. Absence of health service also revealed the challenges of improper health insurance scheme which according to many NNTs it is expensive. From these findings, I learned that there is a group of people (the middle class) who can afford to pay for their health services and buy medicines from private clinics and dispensaries or from a pharmacy. I have also found out there is great connection between education and employment availability among NNTs. education plays great role to NNTs sustainability. Most of the NNTs complained about unfair job market, they are uneducated which make it hard for them to secure a decent job. Another key finding is that, access to access to resources or own assets i.e. house, land, and other properties among NNTs in Ulyankulu is problematic and poor or

unfair policy. For instance some NNTs said land can be sold to more than one person by the authority. The land ownership in the settlements has a number of setbacks. Many NNTs raised their complaints about land ownership. They also complained about building permit restrictions by the local authorities. With all such hindrances, I learned that, NNTs have played a role of an agency to control and present their interests as far as social services is concerned.

Throughout the interviews, I found out that, majority complained about the Law Act. 9 and Law. Act. 7 which was enacted in the 1998 to control the welfare of refugees in settlements and camps. The Act. 9 says how the refugees should be controlled and administered. It was enacted to deal with refugees' issues in 1998 before the integration of NNTs. But surprisingly, the law is still used to control NNTs who's status changed from refugees to NNTs. For instance, through this law, NNTs are restricted to build a permanent structure within the settlement. There has been a lack of funding to support social initiatives in Ulyankulu such as water supply and health care services. Another finding was the issue of humanitarian agents. From the data collected from the field, most of the humanitarian agents such as the UN withdraw their assistance which for my opinion lead into more social problems. This becomes more problematic when due to the fact that the Tanzanian government seems to have less concern about social services which means the NNTs are still lacking key services as mentioned earlier.

When it comes to the issue of employment, majority of NNTs are self-employed. This as it is, is not seem as a problem, but a further analysis shows that, most of NNTs are self-employed not by choice but rather as a result of exclusion from the social economic system. Personally, I found the issue of high unemployment rate among NNTs as a systematic exclusion. Employment is one of the fundamentally aspect that determines social classes which at the end determines livelihood. For instance, teachers or those NNTs in public services, are not given permanent contracts as a systematic way to exclude them from pension when they retired. They also have difficulties being promoted in their working areas. Some have worked for twenty years without being promoted and yet their fellow Tanzanians (host) are easily being promoted even if they have worked less years compared to NNTs. The findings show that, high rate of informal/private sector means most most NNTs are self-employed in subsistence farming, cash crop farming, kiosk, boda boda (cyclists), mechanics, retailers, small scale businesses i.e. kiosk, salon, restaurant etc.

One of the findings in regard to the livelihood of NNTs in Ulyankulu is the issue of cultural diffusion. Here both the host community and NNTs cultures affect and compromise with each other. The cultural interaction between host and NNTs has resulted into both positive and negative effects to both NNTs and host community. On one hand, the host have created some cultural influence and changed NNTs behaviors positively, for instance the issue of gala (a market place or common market) where NNTs from different places come together to buy and sell their products and services. This behavior has been adapted from host community. Likewise, NNTs diffused certain cultures to the host, for instance the culture of aggressiveness and hard work, is said to be adapted by host from NNTs. Apart from cultural-economic diffusion from host to NNTs in Ulyankulu, another cultural aspect transfused from host to the former refugees is the political culture. In Ulyankulu as part of Tanzania, there are local political systems which guide the livelihood and welfare of such community. As it is in another part of the country, Ulyankulu must have representative who will represent its inhabitants' interests to the district

government. This political culture has been adapted by the NNTs, which includes the ways they present their philosophical ideas and argument, the way they seek to be voted as local leaders and the way they cast vote to elect leaders.

Regarding the issue of peaceful coexistence among NNTs and their host families. The findings show that the majority of the NNTs coexist peacefully with their host. There are no ethnic or religious conflicts witnessed within the settlements. Most NNTs and host community claimed even though Christianity dominates the settlement, there was no record of tension or religious discrimination between Christians and Muslims. However, after several interactions, I found there is tension between host and NNTs or among NNTs themselves. The tension between NNTs has historical trajectory since 1970s in Burundi among Hutu from upper-land and low-land zone which extended to the settlement years after the genocide. While the tension between host and NNTs is on the land use. NNTs claims that host community invade land within the settlement which was set for NNTs. The finding also shows that, the Tanzanian government is aware of such conflicts.

Corruption is one of the major issue discussed during the interviews. Most of the NNTs complained to be mistreated and threatened by some of the authorized officials especially when they ask about public spending. The findings show that, at some point the authority has threatened to cancel their citizenship and some people have been taken to police several times with false accusations. Statistically, seven out of ten NNTs interviewed mentioned corruption as a major livelihood obstacle. According to them, corruption involve housing, land ownership and permits, taxations among others. Through corruption NNTs have been controlled to own land and built their houses, they have been ignored their rights to build as any other citizens and are accused of crime they have not done and taken to jail or taken to police.

Gender inequality and social classes are vividly exposed in Ulyankulu, It appears to me, these misfortunes broaden the 'both social and economic gap' between the low-class people and the middle class individuals. For instance, sexual abuse, forced marriage/early marriage, patriarchal system are some of the findings collected from the interviews. From my observation, man and women seems to interact fine, however it has been revealed through ethnographic study men still have power and control over women in the settlement. To prove this, women barely talk in discussions especially when men are part of the discussion. The expression of such misconducts by a woman, might cause negative consequences. As such freedom of expression among women is one of the issue found in the field.

One of the arguments raised by Malkki was such campments such as Ulyankulu are allocated in isolated rural areas with limited social services, this situation minimize their ability to socialize with their host (Malkki 1995). From Ulyankulu experience, things are a little bit different compared to what Malkki explained. Ulyankulu is one of the settlements in Tanzania with relative control and supervision, it maybe isolated in terms of geographical location and social services, but it is administered with close look by those in charge. According to (dTS 2014), the majority of Burundian NNTs who wait to be integrated, anticipated to get their certificates and full rights. They also anticipated their life to change from movement restrictions to freedom of movement and to freely acquire jobs without permits, have access to resources such and obtaining titles deeds for their land and households (dTS: 2014). To most of those interviewed, they still

complained about equal job opportunities, land permit, insecurity and unfair contract as explained above. They hope their children will be able to be admitted to schools and universities without restrictions, this hope to some NNTs has become true, most students in public schools are NNTs, but to many it is just unfulfilled hope. They also anticipate to gain political power and ability to vote and participate in the democratic process, they are certainly allowed to vote and be voted as candidates in public elections. However, most complained about lack of leaders (one of the local authority officials) despite the fact they elected one since 2015 general election. Reflecting these findings, one can argue majority of NNTs have the capability to maneuver and fit-in the environment through agency to face their challenges. This can be seen from some of the interviewees when some NNTs build or acquire land even with strict restrictions from the settlement administration. From such argument above, my analysis can be regarded to have answered the research questions above.

## **8.2 Policy Reform Recommendations.**

The search and implementation of a contemporary pathway towards durable solution in countries like Tanzania has undergone ups and downs. Being one of the UNHCR flagship initiatives to solve protracted refugee situations, the durable solution, based on my opinion has been to some extent a successful global policy. Based on data and analysis explained above, my conclusion and recommendations focus exclusively on 'integration' of protracted refugees into local community. With this notion in mind, I have not only brought my recommendations towards the subject matter under discussion; but I have also recommended on the by-laws and regulations at ground level which in one way or the other affects the NNTs either positively or negatively. One of the key aspects of a durable solution is to make sure those newly integrated individuals enjoy the rights and freedom to the same extent as other local nationals. But this seems rather unrealistic in places such as Ulyankulu where there are many violation human rights. In Ulyankulu, the NNTs have complained about land use and construction permits. This has been repeated in several interviews, majority said the settlement officer(s) have been a setback towards achieving this essential need. There is a lot of bureaucracy and corruption when it comes to land management and housing construction which leads into illegal building among NNTs. To solve this administration challenge, close supervision by both central government and UNHCR is needed throughout the naturalization process. Ulyankulu seems like a place with less external intervention thus those in power (settlement officials) feel they are above the law and they can do whatever they want. Proper and close interference is needed now than before for such a policy to succeed. A global policy such as durable solution needs to consider a wide range of stakeholders, it is sometimes normal for policymakers to sit in a round table to plan about social welfare of certain social groups without full involving them. It seems like, most if not all NNTs were not involved in the whole process at first place. In initiatives such as integration, everyone should be involved and perhaps everything matters.

## **8.3 Structural and Governmentality Recommendations.**

It occurs to me that, there was less involvement of NNTs on how they should live and interact after they achieved citizenship. This was one of the most important things to consider before the actual implementation of the project. One of the interviewees explained to me that, before NNTs were integrated, there was no education to prepare them mentally to become responsible citizens. Perhaps in future this should be

considered for a better and durable solution. Another structural reform recommendation is concern the job distribution. This seems to be one of the major socio-economic challenges in Ulyankulu, although in school like Mirambo secondary school, majority of the teachers were NNTs and only 5 were hosts. This might seem rather a favor to NNTs, but by listening to NNTs stories, it seems rather a problem than a blessing. Here I mean, by the external look, NNTs might have a huge number of employees in schools such as Mirambo, but all better positions are held by local Tanzanians regardless of experience, competence or education level. My recommendation here is that, there should be a clear and equal policy that treat and employ all legal citizens equally. For instance, the authority i.e. Ministry of education should announce a vacant and anonymously select competent candidates without knowing their background beforehand. On the issue of infrastructure like roads, water supply systems and electricity need to be well consider. There is great need for such infrastructural development in Ulyankulu.

Another structural recommendation is about proper empowering policies that will enable NNTs socio-economic capacity. It has been identified before that NNTs in some occasions contribute to local economies, by empowering them with good policies will promote private sectors in rural areas, it might in one way or the other contribute to both livelihood of NNTs individually and the micro-economies of the surrounding communities. Installation of reliable water sources by inviting more donors and development partners might be one of the first steps toward reliable water supply in Ulyankulu. Lack of water has been a great setback towards sustainable livelihood in Ulyankulu. Majority walk many kilometers searching for water which might not even be safe. Drilling boreholes alone has not solved the problem, a reliable source based on such population pressure is more than needed. Alternative sources such as rainwater harvesting from surrounding mountains, irrigation agriculture which will boost domestic use and promote agricultural production are needed as well. On health service, there are a lot to be done, to narrow my argument to the most pressing issues, more dispensaries and clinics should be established. During my stay in Ulyankulu I visited dispensaries, I saw huge number of patients, most were women waiting to be served by one doctor. More professional doctors should be registered in Ulyankulu to serve the vulnerable population, especially pregnant women. One of the disturbing facts in Ulyankulu regarding health issues, was the issue of insurance payments and high costs attached to it. Most NNTs complained about insurance cost, they are required to pay 30,000 TSH/13Euro as medical costs, this might seem little amount to some people, but to an ordinary farmer in Ulyankulu is too much. A proper and fair insurance system which might be partly covered (subsidized) by the government would make livelihood of such already vulnerable community a little bit better. In general, the UNHCR three pillars at somewhat has been one of the best ways to deal with the refugee crisis, but yet there is a lot of work needs to be done.

#### **8.4 Future implications on Local Integration.**

In this section, I underline some of the key issues to be considered for future plans as far as protracted refugees are concern. From my perspective, for the integration to produce more positive results in the future, the following should be considered. First, all stakeholders should be involved including the host community, security agents, local authorities and IOs, it seems the decision to naturalize such huge number of refugees was passed on without prior concern of the host communities or NNTs themselves. In such a scenario, these communities feel somehow left out in the process which affects their

livelihood. Most host communities feel they are eligible to be involved in all crucial decisions relate to NNTs or refugees. One local citizen from Kasanda ward in Kigoma was quoted “the president could not decide to grant citizenship to Burundians without consulting us, since we are the ones hosting them” (DRC: 2017; p15). Perhaps this would lead into more peaceful coexistence. Secondly, before the integration it would have made more sense if the newly registered citizens were trained on how to be good citizens through different programs and civil educations. This would allow them to know their responsibilities as newly citizens and perhaps know how to get their rights when they are mistreated. Most respondents have also complained about poor leadership of the settlement administration, they claimed about corruption and unfair treatment. Perhaps it would be wise to elect NNTs as a leader since they know their environment better. More services are required in Ulyankulu, since the withdrawal of UNHCR in 1970s many NNTs have complained about the shortage of fundamental services such as shortage of water supply, poor health service and unemployment. The debate about local integration have been debated for long time among scholars, researchers and IOs and yet different schools of thought have not find a permanent solution about protracted refugees. More in-depth studies about integration needs to be done to fill the gap and find better solutions for a more durable refugee solution.

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