

# **Implications of encampment for the potential of Cash Based Transfer assistance**

A case study of WFP's Cash Based  
Transfer pilot in Nyarugusu Refugee  
Camp, Tanzania

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Implications of encampment for the potential of Cash Based Transfer assistance. A case study of WFP's Cash Based Transfer pilot in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp, Tanzania

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Abstract

This study explores the implications of an encampment policy - criminalising refugees' mobility beyond the borders of a camp - for the potential of Cash Based Transfer assistance in protracted refugee situations. As the success of Cash Based Transfer assistance implies market availability and access to commodities, and certain interaction between the host community and refugee population, it is argued to be in conflict with what an encampment policy entails. Being a rather unexplored but emerging phenomenon, this study scrutinizes the case of a Cash Based Transfer pilot in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp, in Tanzania, initiated by United Nations World Food Programme in December 2016. The findings, based on 50 interviews carried out in the camp and neighbouring villages, suggest that Cash Based Transfer assistance is beneficial for refugees, as it provides them with decision-making power over their own consumption in addition to being profitable for the local economy in the host community. However, because of Tanzania's encampment policy, the Cash Based Transfer programme also seems to lead to a market interdependency that is rather precarious and possibly troublesome. It shows that as long as an encampment policy exists, the refugee will be an economic actor under the Cash Based Transfer programme vulnerable to exploitation, both in or outside the camp. Furthermore, the implementation of Cash Based Transfer assistance is expected to have implications for the encampment policy, as the host community becomes more dependent on humanitarian aid and therefore refugee presence. Finally, the case of Nyarugusu Refugee Camp shows that the implementation of CBT assistance in encampment circumstances requires monitoring of the perceptions and views of those involved. Only by doing so, will it be possible to react to unintended consequences, such as increased illegal mobility and tensions based on rising prices.

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# Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgements.....	ii
Introduction .....	1
Conceptual framework .....	3
The case of Nyarugusu Refugee Camp, Tanzania .....	7
Burden and benefits.....	8
The Cash Based Transfer pilot.....	11
Methodology.....	12
Case study .....	12
Data collection.....	13
Analysis.....	14
Limitations.....	14
Results.....	15
Refugees: in-kind and cash beneficiaries .....	16
Living situation and livelihood .....	16
Perception of Cash Based Transfer.....	18
Cash in encampment .....	20
Host community and local government.....	21
Refugee presence .....	21
Perception of Cash Based Transfer.....	23
Encampment policy in practice .....	26
Discussion.....	29
Potential of Cash Based Transfer assistance.....	29
Implications of Tanzania’s encampment policy .....	31
Cash Based Transfer - A case for non-encampment? .....	36
Conclusion.....	37
References .....	40
Appendix .....	45
Interview themes .....	45

## Introduction

Whenever a crisis, conflict or disaster triggers a large flow of people fleeing their homes and crossing borders, a humanitarian response is triggered to provide for the basic and pressing needs of those displaced. However, once the emergency phase has passed and the assistance is established, “the idea of ‘temporary’ for refugees grows obsolete as their living situations become more permanent” (Rawles, 2016). Whilst host governments wait for the refugees to return, continuing conflict and insecurity, and other socio-economic circumstances might discourage or prevent them from doing so. In such scenarios of long term cross border displacement, there is an extensive number of governments, including those in Kenya, Ethiopia, Malawi and Tanzania, that argue to have no other solutions to control and accommodate for a refugee influx and presence than to enforce a strict Encampment Refugee Policy (Crisp, 2003). Such an encampment policy states that all refugees and asylum seekers are accommodated in camp settings with restricted mobility and livelihood possibilities.

In academia, there is wide recognition that an encampment policy “is proving unsustainable in terms of funding and is counterproductive for building human resource potential and improving conditions in refugee-affected areas” (Dick, 2003, p. 28). Nevertheless, the argument of host governments often remains that, as the Tanzanian government states, when unable to provide enough for its own citizens, and guaranteeing their safety (Ongpin, 2008), granting asylum to all refugees cannot be a reasonable solution either (Milner, 2009). Consequently, while host government hope for their return or resettlement, a “cycle of dependence on humanitarian assistance” is established (UNHCR, 2010 cited in European Commission, 2014), which makes it impossible for refugees to build meaningful and respectable livelihoods.

Meanwhile, the humanitarian community is increasingly moving to Cash Based Transfer assistance (CBT). The World Food Programme (WFP) is one of the leading organisations that has expanded its use of CBT rather than in-kind (food and non-food items) assistance, reaching more than 9.6 million people (WFP, 2016a). CBT assistance reduces “the cost of providing food assistance while maximizing the number of people reached” (WFP, 2017, p.1).

Furthermore, unlike in-kind distribution, CBT is seen as a more dignified form of aid, allowing beneficiaries to purchase food or non-food items based on their own preferences and needs and therefore to regain decision-making power over what affects their daily lives. In addition, CBT in a camp setting has the potential to benefit the host community as well, since the money will be invested in local markets (WFP, 2016a).

Yet, the success of CBT implies – besides governmental support – market availability and access, and interaction between the host community and refugee population. As the latter indicates a certain level of mobility between the refugee camp and surrounding host communities, CBT assistance seems to contradict the regulations and status quo of what an encampment policy entails. As there is yet little academic research on CBT assistance in protracted refugee situations that are subject to an encampment policy, even though it is an emerging phenomenon, the purpose of this thesis is to explore the implications of encampment for the potential of CBT assistance, from the perspective of a host community and refugees.

In order to investigate the implications of encampment policy for the potential of a Cash Based Transfer programme, a case study is conducted in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp. Established in 1997, Nyarugusu Refugee Camp is situated in the north-western Tanzanian region of Kigoma, and as one of the largest refugee camps in the world currently accommodating more than 130.000 refugees (UNHCR, 2017). Following a feasibility study and several market assessments, WFP recently implemented a CBT pilot in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp (WFP, 2017b) as a substitute for the provided food distributions. This pilot entails the distribution of cash to initially a selective group of 10.000 refugees, with the possibility of an expansion to a larger target group, if and when the pilot is proven to be successful. Therefore, the research question in this case study will be:

*What are the implications of Tanzania's Encampment policy for the potential of WFP's Cash Based Transfer programme in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp?*

This thesis targets humanitarian organisations working in protracted refugee situations in host countries where encampment policies are implemented. It will show how the

implementation of a Cash Based Transfer programme relates to the consequences of the encampment policy for their beneficiaries and the host community. Furthermore, it can be noted that this research is connected to a larger field of disaster management and climate change adaptation. It was estimated that more than 19.3 million people fled their homes due to disasters, only in the year 2014, while “hundreds of thousands more are still displaced following disasters in previous years” (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, 2015). Therefore, it can be considered an important cause of displacement and subsequently protracted refugee situations, in which Cash Based Transfer assistance is emerging. In the following, a conceptual framework is presented to clarify the definitions of concepts and terms used in this thesis. Then, in order to contextualize the case of Nyarugusu Refugee Camp a literature review follows. A methodology section then precedes the results and discussion, before final conclusions are drawn.

## Conceptual framework

The implications of the Tanzanian encampment policy regarding the CBT programme of WFP are studied within a certain conceptual framework. The concepts that underpin and are relevant to the research problem include: refugees, protracted refugee situations, the encampment policy and the notion of inclusive exclusion, which helps in understanding the position of refugees. Following a brief discussion of each concept, the Cash Based Transfer programme will be explained and put in a global perspective.

### *Refugees*

There is a growing number of refugees around the world, with approximately 15.1 million refugees under UN mandate in 2015, the highest number in 20 years (Taylor et al., 2016). A refugee is a person who fled from their home country, crossing national borders, “owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion” (UN General Assembly, 1951). However, the term ‘refugee’ in this case study includes the total population living in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp – 132.746 according to UNCHR statistics on 28 February 2017 (UNCHR, 2017) – regardless of being identified as a refugee through an asylum procedure or not.

### *Protracted refugee situations*

In 2009 UNHCR reported that two thirds of the refugee population around the world are living in protracted refugee situations. These situations are defined by a number of 25.000 people or more, who have been displaced for five years or longer (Loescher & Milner, 2009). In 2015, UNHCR claimed that there were thirty-two protracted refugee situations around the world (UNCHR, 2015). The problem of such refugee situations is that refugees can neither return to their lives back home, nor can they start a meaningful life in the host country due to continuing insecurity in their country of origin. Relatedly, host countries are often reluctant to engage with and integrate refugees into the host country, since they are hoping their stay will only be temporary (Jacobsen, 2003).

### *Encampment policy*

Refugees are often considered a burden and threat to a host society, which leads to restrictive refugee policies including refugees' encampment (Loescher & Milner, 2009). Despite specific encampment policies differing across countries (UNCHR, 2012), it is generally understood as a component of a refugee and asylum law and policy of a host country. As such, it entails regulations that constrain refugees or asylum seekers to reside in designated areas, depriving them of freedom of movement beyond its borders. In such designated areas, or also called 'safe zones' or 'camps', people become dependent on humanitarian assistance, "characterised by poverty, frustration and unrealized potential" (Loescher & Milner, 2009, p.10). There are often no opportunities to pursue further education or let alone participate in a functioning job market. Furthermore, an encampment policy is often considered for the sake of the host community, protecting them from competition on the labour market and addressing security and safety issues. However, Dick (2003) shows that encampment policies often impede host communities benefitting from refugee presence as well. In the case of Nyarugusu Refugee Camp this will be further discussed later.

### *Inclusive exclusion*

Fresia & von Känel (2015) argue that encampment policies in protracted refugee situations are merely a "privileged means for hosting undesirable foreigners in contemporary societies" (p.2). Among other studies, they discuss the dynamics of refugee camps in host societies,

referring to Agamben (1998). While his theories received much criticism for being too rigid and oversimplified, Agamben (1998) has been one of the most influential sociologists in Refugee studies over the last few decades. His theory of exception allows one to theorize the position of the refugee and the role and persistence of encampment policies.

Agamben (2005) explains the state of exception as a temporary suspension of jurisdiction in order to cope with crisis, such as large refugee influx. In this state, making an exception from, for instance, human rights, is justified with the use of discourse that frames the refugee as a threat to the host society (Diken & Laustsen, 2005). Hence, while Human Rights Conventions proclaim everyone's right to work and freedom of movement (e.g. United Nations, 1948), an encampment policy can nevertheless be justified and kept, claiming this state of exception. This makes the refugee an outsider inside. They are accommodated in camps in the host country, however, excluded from the social, economic or political life. Agamben (1998) describes this with the notion of 'inclusive exclusion' in which, as discussed by Diken & Laustsen (2005) "the refugee conveys a grey zone of ambivalence as to his internality/externality vis-à-vis the society, and this provokes a fundamental undecidability" (p79). The notion of inclusive exclusion captures the position of the refugee, which in protracted refugee situations seems no longer temporary. Hence, in this grey zone of ambivalence, Ziarek (2012) argues, that the implication of such inclusive exclusion is that the refugee will always be stuck in a position of "unlimited exposure to violation which does not count as a crime" (Ziarek, 2012, p.196).

Agamben's way of articulating the position of refugees, sheds light on the implications of the encampment policies as to how they contribute in restricting political, economic and social movement for refugees. Furthermore, as Cash Based Transfer requires an economic inclusion, Agamben's theory offers an analytical angle to discuss the implications of encampment in relation to CBT assistance.

### *Cash Based Transfer assistance*

In the circumstances of displacement, including protracted refugee situations, CBT is a form of assistance that is increasingly deployed by humanitarian organizations. WFP is one of the leading organizations that has expanded the implementation of CBT in assistance to people

in need. CBT is often provided as a substitute for in-kind (food and non-food items) assistance, which is “reducing the cost of providing food assistance while maximizing the number of people reached” (WFP, 2017). It is seen as a more dignified form of assistance because beneficiaries gain decision-making power and are able purchase food or non-food items according to their preferences.

CBT programmes are recognized to have many advantages. Firstly, they are known to reduce the negative coping strategies of beneficiaries, like for example the selling and exchange of distributed food for a price far lower than initially purchased by humanitarian organisations, which negatively influences local sellers on the market. Secondly, CBT can have a boosting effect on the local economy (WFP, 2017), as the distributed cash will increase beneficiaries’ purchasing power, subsequently increasing demand on the local market. However, to be able to successfully implement a CBT programme, there needs to be a well-functioning market mechanism in place with guaranteed supply for beneficiaries as well as other consumers and an existing or potential money transfer system (e.g. mobile money). When a CBT programme has proven to be successful, organisations like WFP are also able to expand their support to the host community, for instance through the support of “smallholder farmers to be more productive and build national capacities, even in times of crisis” (WFP, 2017, p.1).

In protracted refugee situations subject to an encampment policy, humanitarian organisations are also making a shift towards cash rather than in-kind assistance. For instance, in Kenya, a Mobile Cash Transfer programme was rolled out in 2015 in Kakuma Refugee Camp, the largest refugee settlement in the world. In this case, the distributed cash can only be spent in selected shops (European Commission, 2016). Furthermore, in Dzaleka Refugee Camp, in Malawi, which currently accommodates 27,000 refugees who are restricted in movement and labour activities, WFP is also planning to shift to Cash Based Transfer assistance, though, until now, this has been lacking funding (WFP, 2016). CBT programmes in encampment circumstances can have different characteristics in terms of the encampment regulations, infrastructure of the markets and demographic, social and economic characteristics of refugee populations and host communities. Therefore, the following section will provide a description of Tanzania’s history and current role as a host for refugees and Nyarugusu Refugee Camp.

## The case of Nyarugusu Refugee Camp, Tanzania

Tanzania has had a long history of refugee influxes from mainly neighbouring countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi and Rwanda. In the 1960s, Tanzania's first president Nyerere and the socialist Government at the time, established an Open-Door Policy that allowed millions of refugees to seek refuge and integrate in the Tanzanian society (Ongpin, 2008). Subsequently, in the 1990s Tanzania experienced a fast-increasing refugee influx of approximately half a million Burundians and Congolese (Dick, 2003), with a peaking influx in 1994 when "almost a quarter of a million [Rwandese] entered Tanzania in a period of 24 hours" (Ongpin, 2008, p.14) fleeing the raging genocide that was ongoing at that time.

In addition to such large numbers of refugees, new leadership in the early 1990s and subsequent changes in legislation and economic policies finally caused Tanzania to change its Open-Door Policy to much more restrictive regulations (Ongpin, 2008), formally published in the Refugee Act of 1998 (United Republic of Tanzania, 1998). It stated that "no asylum seeker or refugee shall be allowed to leave a designated area as directed under this section unless he has sought and obtained a permit from Director or Settlement Officer as the case may be" (1998, p.51). Furthermore, this encampment policy restricted refugees with regards to working and developing their own business. In 2003, Tanzania's first national Refugee Policy followed, allowing refugees three options: "Voluntary repatriation, resettlement or the use of safe zones" (Ongpin, 2008, p.14). It was a major shift from an "emphasis of self-sufficiency and local settlement [to] a focus on repatriation, while the integration of refugees into the Tanzanian political community was replaced by a desire to exclude them" (Milner, 2009, p.120).

Nyarugusu Refugee Camp opened in 1997 (around the same time as Nduta and Mtabila camps) to accommodate mainly Congolese refugees (Dick, 2002). Approximately ten years later, Nyarugusu Refugee Camp was the only camp remaining, as the Tanzanian Government decided to close all other camps to show a stronger message and push refugees to return or resettle to a third country. Even though the Nyarugusu Refugee Camp was built as a short-term solution to a Congolese refugee influx in 1997, aside from fluctuating numbers and resettlement programs, its presence has become more or less permanent.

Currently, Nyarugusu Refugee Camp is accommodating more than 130,000 refugees (UNHCR, 2017) of which the most permanent population is of Congolese (DRC) descent. Burundians make up the other major population group of refugees in the camp. Since mid-2015 more than 170,000 Burundians have crossed the border to Tanzania due to political unrest after the Burundian president went for a third term – against the country’s constitution – and deemed himself elected (Hatcher, 2015). This emergency refugee influx pushed the Tanzanian Government to re-open two other refugee camps, Nduta and Mtendeli, since Nyarugusu Refugee Camp could not accommodate for the large influx of Burundian refugees. Whilst the influx continues from Burundi, “a recent decision [was made] by the Tanzanian government to stop granting prima facie refugee status to Burundians arriving in the country” (MSF, 2017). The Tanzanian Government argues that the Burundian refugees currently arriving are mainly fleeing from “deteriorating economic situation” rather than conflict (European Commission, 2017), and therefore they are not directly considered as refugees.

### *Burden and benefits*

Over the last twenty years there has been a large body of literature looking at the impact of refugee presence in Kigoma region; the influence on the host community as well as the living situations of refugees, shaped by Tanzania’s encampment policy. As previously mentioned, studies show that Tanzania’s encampment policy is argued to be a counterproductive solution, keeping refugees from developing their lives and livelihoods, while preventing the host community to benefit from the refugee presence (Whitaker, 2002; Dick, 2003; Ongpin, 2008). Accordingly, Whitaker (2002) argues that “while mobility restrictions may have reduced the negative effects of the refugee situation it also minimized the positive opportunities” (p.352).

One of the main consequences of the encampment policy is, that refugees have no access to land and limited livelihood opportunities. This has compromised their self-reliance and developed dependence on humanitarian aid, such as the monthly food distributions by WFP. For instance, in 2011, refugees in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp, on average, depended on WFP food assistance for 63 percent of their consumption (WFP & UNHCR, 2011), for which the

monthly food rations are based on the “population’s minimum energy, protein, fat and micronutrient requirements for light physical activity” (World Health Organisation et al., 2004). This amount is insufficient, refugees argue, as it does not last for the full distribution period (WFP et al., 2013) and does not correspond to personal food needs and preferences. Crisp (2003) and Dick (2003) argue that dependence and limited opportunities to earn additional income have led to negative coping strategies for instance “the theft of crops, cattle and other aspects or simply going hungry” (Crisp, 2003, p.21).

According to Tanzania’s encampment policy, refugees are restricted to the camp area unless they obtain a permit (Dick, 2003). However, this permit to leave the camp is extremely difficult to obtain and is provided only for a limited time period. Even though refugees risk up to six months’ imprisonment when leaving the camp without a permit (Dick, 2003), it is well known that many refugees leave without permits for the collection of firewood, to look for labour, or to access local markets. For instance, Landau (2001) describes how “on distribution days, refugees stream from the camps on their bicycles carrying 100-200kg sack of maize destined for local buyers” (p.17) Depending on local authorities, certain types of mobility have sometimes been allowed (Rutinwa, 2005). For example, “by a rule of practice, refugees are allowed to move within a four-kilometre radius around the camps in order to get amenities such as firewood” (Rutinwa, 2005, p.41).

Moreover, food distributions of WFP have hampered the demand for local produce and therefore the potential for the local economy to grow. Surplus farmers living close to the camp and traders have thus shared their disappointment at not being able to sell or exchange their goods with refugees because of restricted mobility (Whitaker, 2002). Furthermore, approximately seventy-five percent of WFP distributed food is sold or exchanged on local markets (Ongpin, 2008), which disrupt market prices. While this can favour low income labourers, it competes with locally produced maize and beans of smallholder farmers. Ongpin (2008) refers to Whitaker (2002) to state that commercial farmers “were unable to sell [their produce] for a profit as their prices had to compete with the freely provided food aid” (Ongpin, 2008, p18). Subsequently, Whitaker (2002) concluded that the benefits and burdens of refugee presence have been unevenly distributed in the host community, “with business people and other advantaged groups clearly gaining more” (p.356).

Dick (2003) and Landau (2001) state that both refugees and local villagers experience a hostile environment when meeting one another outside the camp area, often due to negative coping strategies such as theft (Crisp, 2003). As there are no clear signs as to where the camp area stops and land of the host community starts, refugees are put in a vulnerable position where they can be taken advantage of. Refugees report to be victims of harassment, and the “risk of rape, exploitation, and conflict with local communities is present” (WFP et al., 2013, p.6). On the other hand, local villagers have expressed fear for those who leave the camp: “If you meet a refugee or a group of refugees, in the fields you are likely to be robbed or raped and if you resist, murdered” (Landau, 2001, p.18). Hence, some villagers refrain themselves from travelling beyond the securitized areas of the village and avoid travelling long distances.

Tanzania has shown its hospitality in accommodating refugees in earlier years, even providing the option of naturalisation to large groups of refugees (Kuch, 2016). Nevertheless, despite research showing the disadvantages of current restrictive policy, the government has remained clear, that encampment is needed to be able to accommodate the refugees while maintaining national security and safety in the host community (Ongpin, 2008). It is argued that open refugee camps, with no restriction on movement, lead to security issues and criminal activity affecting the host community (Jacobsen, 2002). The Tanzanian government states that rising crime rates, due to refugee presence, affirm the need for a strict enforcement of regulations that control refugee movement (Ongpin, 2008).

To summarize, the government argues that an encampment policy allows them to have more control over the impact of refugee presence in terms of crime, violence, and militarisation that has been observed in ‘open’ refugee settlements. Nevertheless, the encampment policy is argued to have some negative implications for refugees and host community. Refugees have become dependent on humanitarian assistance to survive and have limited opportunities to generate income, which has led to the adoption of a series of negative coping strategies, some of which have led to a hostile environment between host communities and refugees, during encounters mainly outside the camp. Moreover, food assistance has prevented local businesses and farmers to fully profit from the needs of the refugees. In

addition, local farmers cannot compete against WFP's distributed food that refugees sell for a low price on local markets.

### *The Cash Based Transfer pilot*

In this context of enduring dependence of humanitarian assistance, during the last few years WFP has been exploring the possibilities to change from in-kind distribution to Cash Based Transfers, as a more dignified form of assistance with potential to benefit the local economy in the host community. Often such initiatives have been unsuccessful due to policy restrictions and disapproval from the Tanzanian government (WFP, 2016c). However, in mid-2016, a market assessment was conducted to take measure of "the structure, functionality and performance of markets in Kasulu district" (WFP, 2016d, p.1) in particular the refugee common market, and a CBT Pilot was being developed. In the build-up phase, the government has shown support of a CBT pilot and also decided to re-open the refugee common market in the camp. The latter was essential for WFP to be able to establish a CBT pilot.

The market assessment showed that Kasulu district is able to provide sufficient food on a yearly basis for both the host community and the refugee population, if the market has enough time to adjust to a higher demand. "The ability of most, if not all, traders in Kasulu, to procure food within three days throughout the year demonstrates good market functionality and food supply chains in the country" (WFP, 2016d, p.41). Nevertheless, in the market assessment report it was stated that mobility restrictions of Tanzania's encampment policy were viewed as an important limitation (WFP, 2016d). Criminalising refugees' mobility outside the camp, limits them to what commodities the common market has to offer. Hence, such an isolated market mechanism can lead to a price rise in Nyarugusu's common market. Consequently, this was mentioned as one of the major aspects that will need to be closely monitored.

WFP started a first cash distribution in December 2016, targeting 10,000 refugees, selected from both Congolese and Burundian households with a PSN (People with Special Needs) family member (WFP, 2016b). The distribution of fortified foods (e.g CSB and Oil) was decided to continue, due to the lack of such nutrient rich commodities available in the market (WFP,

2016d). In a coverage in one of the major Tanzanian newspapers, WFP Tanzania's Country Director Michael Dunford states: "WFP Tanzania's current cash programme adds Sh 200 million [approx. 90.000 USD] each month in the local economy" (Dunford, 2017).

## Methodology

In this section, the methodology will be explained, including the reasoning behind the choice of a case study, the data collection phase and a brief discussion on the analysis. Lastly, the limitations of this study and methodology, in terms of appropriateness and validity, are discussed.

### *Case study*

To explore the implications of an encampment policy for the potential of CBT assistance, a single case study methodology was considered most suitable. Yin (2004) describes a case study as an effective methodology "to understand a real-life phenomenon in depth, [considering] important contextual conditions—because they were highly pertinent to your phenomenon of study" (p.18). Both encampment policies and characteristics of CBT assistance can differ significantly for each context, as explained in the previous paragraph, let alone the other social, demographic and economic differences between refugee populations and host communities. Therefore, it is argued that a case study is a well-suited methodology to explore and increase understanding of the implications of encampment with regard to contemporary developments, such as CBT assistance.

A research sample was set up in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp, as well as in the host villages – Nyarugusu, Makere, and Kalimungoma – surrounding Nyarugusu Refugee Camp. Purposeful sampling, a selection method based on the researchers' judgment on the usefulness of the respondents (Dudovskiy, 2016), was used to select respondents from two main groups, subsequently facilitating a balanced sample in terms of gender, age and nationality (Bradly & Harrell, 2009). These groups were identified as important to the analysis, as they are considered most affected by - or involved in the CBT pilot as well as the implications of the encampment policy. Reaching a balanced sample was considered a necessity to gather data on which certain credible analytical generalisations could be made. Furthermore, using the

purposeful judgement sampling method, key informants were selected based on their role and expected knowledge (Bradly & Harrell, 2009). Overall, 50 respondents were interviewed, which was enough to reach certain redundancy in regard to the themes discussed during interviews, in each of the identified groups.

The first group of respondents consisted of both Congolese and Burundian refugees living in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp, divided into subgroups of cash beneficiaries and food beneficiaries. Sixteen cash beneficiaries (8 Burundians, 8 Congolese) were approached during cash distribution and eleven in-kind beneficiaries (5 Burundians, 6 Congolese) were reached through a door-to-door approach. The second group of respondents consisted of Tanzanian citizens either active in the common market or present in one of the three villages mentioned earlier. In total sixteen Tanzanian citizens were reached, including four village leaders and twelve farmers or businesspeople. The key informants include, the elected refugee president (representative), two zone leaders, the market committee chairman of the common market and three committee members, the division officer of Makere and village executive officer of Nyarugusu representing the local government in Kasulu district.

### *Data collection*

The data collection for this case study was done with the use of semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews were chosen because they allow respondents to shape the conversation and articulate their own ideas and perceptions rather freely (Cohen, 2006), something that is essential in an exploratory study. As CBT assistance is rather unexplored in relation to encampment policies, this method of data collection enables the revealing of unexpected perceptions and views. It was taken into consideration that this method requires certain skills, for example in the use of probing, and to recognise valuable information and themes during interviews. Furthermore, unstructured interviews were considered useful to provide rich data, however, appeared to be too time consuming given the time available (Bradly & Harrell, 2009). Moreover, structured interviews were deemed unsuitable to gather data on rather unexplored perceptions and views of the respondents.

Additionally, direct observation was used to inform some of the interview themes and questions. Hence, the interview guide, comprising themes specific to each of the respondent groups, was adapted slightly during the data collection. However useful, it is taken into consideration that with the presence of the researcher, interviewees can change their behaviour (Bradly & Harrell, 2009).

For all respondents, the first interview theme focused on breaking the ice and to collect general information including, name, nationality, age, gender, data of arrival in the camp (for refugees), family size and occupation (mainly for Tanzanian respondents). The interview themes that followed were 'living situation', 'Cash Based Transfer' and 'cash in encampment'. The interviews were conducted with the use of an interpreter, English – Swahili in the host community and English – Kirundi/Swahili in Nyarugusu camp.

### *Analysis*

The analysis was conducted using an axial coding method to analyse the output from the empirical data collection, using categories that were already identified with the development of the interview guide. Therefore, the transcriptions were analysed using the three main interview themes and several newly identified sub categories. The coding categories slightly differs for the two respondent groups. As such, for the respondent group 'refugees', the categories were identified as; *living situation*, *potential of CBT*, and *cash in encampment* and for the respondents in the host community; *perception of refugee presence*, *potential of CBT* and *encampment policy in practice*. The categories and subcategories were assigned colours and codes and analysed per group. Subsequently, a map is created to identify linkages between the categories. Finally, the findings are discussed with the support of the literature. See annex for more detailed overview of categories and sub categories.

### *Limitations*

Firstly, due to time constraints only 50 respondents were interviewed, limiting the validity of any statistical generalizations for the population in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp or the host community. The latter is especially the case because some of the villages surrounding the camp have not been visited and of the villages that were visited, few respondents were

interviewed. However, statistical generalizations were never the intention of this case study, which still provides a foundation for careful analytical generalizations that may inform and invite more intensive statistical data collection to look at different aspects of the CBT pilot and the impact of encampment policy.

Secondly, the CBT pilot started in the beginning of December 2016 and is currently in an expanding phase. This means that conclusions on either the impact of the CBT project or the implications of the encampment policy are preliminary. Hence, a much more in-depth study is recommended to be conducted covering a larger number of respondents. As such, this study will look at the expectations and perceptions of refugees and host community regarding the implications of encampment and CBT assistance, to build a grassroots understanding, developed from the views of those who are directly involved.

Furthermore, some topics during the interviews touched upon either personal or challenging issues. Therefore, it must be taken into account that some of the respondents might have answered according to what they considered more beneficial or expected from them. For instance, refugees were asked about their movement, if they have been outside the camp with or without permit. Considering the fact that going outside without a permit is illegal, some respondents might not have been confident to share this during an interview. Furthermore, for most of the interviews an interpreter was employed, which increases the risk of misunderstandings or information getting 'lost in translation.'

## Results

This section comprises the presentation of results that were derived from interviews with refugees, both in-kind and cash beneficiaries, and respondents in the host community. Furthermore, several views and ideas of key respondents are presented.

## *Refugees: in-kind and cash beneficiaries*

### *Living situation and livelihood*

Life in the camp is challenging. A large majority (93%) of the respondents, both cash beneficiaries and in kind beneficiaries, describe life in the camp as difficult due to dependence on the distribution of WFP food, which is considered insufficient and limited in variety. This is especially challenging for those who suffer from diabetes or other reasons that prevents them from eating maize or pulses. Furthermore, the encampment circumstances, restricting mobility and opportunities to build livelihoods, are negatively influencing refugees' quality of life. *"They treat us as, how can I say, worthless,"* a Congolese refugee states. A small percentage of respondents that argue to be satisfied with their lives, are economically active in the camp and therefore, as they mentioned, able to diversify their consumption regime with additional income. In terms of future perspective, 96 percent of the respondents state to have no future in their home country, mainly because of continuing insecurity, a Congolese man says:

*"How can I go back to DRC when there are still some Congolese from Congo who are fleeing their country, when there is still the war, I cannot go back to Congo. If there was peace I would go back, but there is no peace."*

Most of the Congolese respondents mention to be waiting for repatriation in a third country.

Due to the encampment policy, refugees and Tanzanians have been living close to - but somewhat isolated from each other. Hence, a large majority of the respondents mention that a relationship with Tanzanians is either non-existent or solely based on a market relationship. Inside the camp, where since the end of 2015 refugees and Tanzanians can meet in the common market, the relationship is generally considered as a mutually beneficial relationship. *"This market is the common market, the together market of Tanzanians, Burundians and Congolese,"* a young Tanzanian man explains.

The relationship between locals and refugees outside the camp is, however, rather ambiguous. Refugees who leave the camp with a permit for business or to work for local

farmers are positive about the communication and relationship with local villagers. On the contrary, those who go outside the camp without a permit, either to collect firewood or visit the local markets, mention that they experience harassments, are frequently asked for bribes, (money, soap or salt) and sometimes beaten. From the Congolese respondents, a majority argues that before the arrival of Burundian refugees, the relationship between refugees and Tanzanians was much better and enforcement of mobility regulations was different. A Congolese man states:

*“In these recent days we don't feel good, because if you are outside the camp they just ask you ‘who are you and where are you from, just show us the permit’, and so on. But before the communication was very good”.*

To get a better idea on how refugees deal with these regulations of encampment policy, respondents were asked about their mobility and perception on camp rules and regulations and their activities outside the camp. The camp permit is perceived to be difficult – often too expensive – to obtain, for those that do not have a business purpose to leave the camp. Nevertheless, approximately 38 percent of the respondents have been outside the camp and 10 percent did so without a permit (excluding refugees collecting firewood). A young Burundian man explains: *“When you decide to go there, you must go there without a permit because there is no permit given to go to the villages”.* According to him going outside the camp comes with a risk, one that he was willing to take: *“When you have a chance to not be caught up by policemen, you are returning safe. But when you are caught up it means you encounter serious problems”.* A majority of 62 percent, however, state to have never been outside the camp for, either they consider the common market to provide for their needs, or because the fear of being imprisoned or beaten is stronger than the need to leave the camp.

52 percent of the respondents explicitly state that they experience the encampment policy, specifically the regulations that restrict their mobility, as a burden on their life. *“If you are in the camp, our life is like someone who is in prison,”* a Congolese refugee explains. Moreover, 26 percent of the respondents state they feel comfortable in the camp, therefore seeing no direct problem with the mobility restrictions. The remaining 22 percent of the respondents

claim they take the regulations as they are, even though they think it would be better to be able to travel outside the camp.

### *Perception of Cash Based Transfer*

All the cash beneficiaries who were interviewed state to have a strong preference for the distribution of cash rather than food. The president of the refugees calls it '*a dream come true*', something they have been waiting for, for a long time. The main argument for their preference for cash is the ability to choose different commodities for their family, which enables them to diversify and change their food regime. "*A change occurred,*" one of the cash committee volunteers describes:

*"Because with the distribution of food we got only maize flour, beans or peas and a small quantity of oil. But, by this project of getting money, I go to the market, I can buy fishes, I can buy anything I want to change the regime."*

Some Burundian respondents state that with the CBT pilot their lives have improved so extensively, that they do not see any reason to return to their home country, or go somewhere else anymore.

Refugees' preference for cash might be straightforward, however, a large majority of cash beneficiaries argues that the amount of cash provided does not suffice their needs. Consequently, 27 percent of the respondents argue that the quantity of cash prevents them from diversifying their food intake, as they see themselves forced to buy the same commodities (maize, beans, salt) they were getting from WFP. Even though they argue for a larger amount, most of the respondents acknowledge that the amount of cash is still higher than when they had to sell distributed food for diversification purposes. A Burundian cash beneficiary summarizes it as follows: "*It made a little change [...] even if the amount is not sufficient. It is different from when I got food, for food was the same food from one distribution to another, like now I can change*". The respondents that still receive food, even though they heard that the amount would be insufficient, almost all prefer to receive cash as well. Similarly,

they expect that this will enable them to diversify and change their food regime and buy the commodities of their preference.

Both positive effects and potential problems of CBT assistance are related to, and influential in regards to the market and the relationship with Tanzanians. A common market was established in the end of 2015, as an initiative to bring Tanzanians and refugees together and gain from each other's presence. Since the CBT pilot, the market chairman has seen an increase in shops and businesses. Both Tanzanians as well as Burundians and Congolese have recently opened shops to expand or start a business. Some of the respondents report that since the establishment of the common market, they have been working in market stalls, earning a small income. Furthermore, according to a majority of respondents, the CBT programme, together with the existence of a 'common' market, is expected to improve in the relationship between refugees and Tanzanians. A greater availability of cash will increase the demand for goods, which will be an incentive for refugees and host community to come together, creating an interaction that is mutually beneficial.

At the moment, there is a large majority of 92 percent of the cash beneficiaries that considers the common market to have sufficient commodities to provide for their needs and preferences. However, 77 percent of the respondents claim that the price in the market is extremely high, and rising since the start of the CBT pilot, in comparison to the amount of cash they are receiving. A Burundian cash beneficiary argues: *"We should call the investors to come with great amount of food, of different sort, that we can buy at a lower price, for now the prices are increasing."* In terms of price fluctuations, a majority of the respondents believe that WFP, the Tanzanian Government and the Tanzanians sellers are in control of the market and should therefore be able to lower the price for them.

As such, another side of CBT assistance also emerged during the interviews. Both Burundian and Congolese respondents share their concern of a new dependence on Tanzanian businessmen. Respondents argue that the Tanzanians have the power to keep a high price for their products, whereas they, as refugees, have no choice than to accept, even though they have a small and fixed amount to spend. *"We must buy their food, we must, we try to converse with them to lower their price, and they refuse. Because there is no other way to do, we buy*

*as it is, but it is not comfortable for us,”* a Burundian woman explains. Furthermore, it is argued that the potential to positively influence the relationship with host community can also turn into a negative effect. According to a Congolese businessman, insufficient food supply could arise due to harvest loss, which he argues would be likely due to changing weather patterns in the case in Kasulu district. As such, another Congolese respondent says that in the end, *“if there will be everything on the market, like food, which will be available at any time, things will be good. But if food will be unavailable things will go bad”*.

In short, the CBT programme is clearly benefitting refugees, as it provides them with the decision-making power over their own consumption. Moreover, it will increase the demand on the market, which will further develop a market relationship between host community and refugees. As such, a growing demand has been mentioned as a positive effect. A potential disadvantage that has been expressed is the power of the host community to control prices, whereas the refugee community is dependent on a fixed income and prevented to choose other markets. The regulations of encampment have a central role in this matter, as will be discussed in the following section.

#### *Cash in encampment*

The price and availability of commodities on the common market, in relation to other local markets, potentially influences refugees’ mobility. On the one hand, 50 percent of the cash beneficiaries claim to stay in the camp even when the prices outside the camp would be lower. *“For it is not our country, we can accept the rules of the government even if it makes our situation worse,”* a Burundian man says. However, a large majority (75%) of this group of respondents mentioned that they would prefer going to markets in the host community if allowed. A Congolese man, who has been outside the camp to seek for cheaper commodities says, *“I don't think that people can go freely without a permit to the market of villages, even if on the common market there is a higher price, for we are seriously prevented to go outside the camp.”* Given the pressure to stay inside the camp, a large majority share the concern that if prices in the market would rise further, this would lead to decreasing purchasing power and consequently, hunger.

On the other hand, 44 percent of the cash beneficiaries state to consider or to be determined to go outside the camp without a permit, when the price of the common market further rises. *“If the price is becoming more expensive, I cannot stay in this camp, I will reach with others who go outside the camp,”* a Burundian woman claims. Moreover, if the prices in the host communities are expected to be lower than the common market a Burundian cash beneficiary says: *“I will go outside the camp if I get this small amount of money and the price is high, there I can go to search for food, where it is less expensive”.*

With rising prices in the common market, both leaving as well as staying is considered to lead to certain challenges. On the one hand, while money will be spent on transportation and bribes instead of food, going outside the camp illegally puts refugees at risk, as they are outlawed *“they can catch you, beat you, take everything from you,”* a Congolese man explains. On the other hand, staying in the camp when market prices are rising, will decrease refugees’ purchasing power, while already the current amount of cash reception is perceived challenging.

### *Host community and local government*

#### *Refugee presence*

Over the last twenty years, the villages surrounding Nyarugusu Refugee Camp have experienced fast population growth and development. Village leaders state that the interaction with refugees has had an influence on cultural values and customs, often for the better. Respondents mention that the presence of refugees and related aid flows have led to the establishment of local markets, dispensaries and health care clinics in villages as well as in the camp. The presence of the refugee camp is perceived to be beneficial as well as problematic for the host community, and people’s attitude towards refugees are continuously changing, according to the Ward Councillor of Makere:

*“There is a time when the situation has come to cool down, then people tend to like the presence of the refugees, however, then it tends to bring chaos and destruct the atmosphere of the place.”*

The impact of the refugee presence is mainly considered to have an economic advantage and a downside in terms of security and environmental degradation. In Makere, respondents are overall positive when talking about refugees and the refugee camp near their village. All respondents, including the village chairman, shop owners and farmers, argue that the refugee camp has brought development to Makere. A woman working in a shop says, *“back then, Makere was of low profile, people were living in poor conditions. But after the coming of refugees, commodities are on sale.”* Accordingly, the economic influence of the refugee camp is perceived positively in all villages. A Ward councillor says:

*“The presence of the markets, serves the economy in Makere in a way that we have a stable demand, a market that sustains for quite a long time. [...] the presence of the market gives the believe to the people that whatever they can do or whatever product they have, it can be sold in the markets”.*

He explains that between 2006 and 2015 there was no ‘common’ market, and life was more difficult, trade took place illicitly, forcing both Tanzanians and refugees to leave and enter the camp illegally. All village leaders agree that there is a huge economic advantage of the refugee presence in Kasulu district, as it has increased money circulation in the economy. Other respondents, including shop owners and farmers, acknowledge that with the arrival of refugees a much stronger market infrastructure has been established. Nevertheless, the division officer of Makere, representing the local government, argues that the presence of the refugees comes with the expectation that host community can benefit from the services they receive and, according to him, this is often not the case. Furthermore, the respondents in the three villages argue that the atmosphere has worsened since the arrival of the Burundian refugees in 2015. The respondents representing the local government agree that challenges related to security increased with the influx of Burundian refugees in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp.

The negative sense of security around the camp, in the villages and on farms, is mainly attributed to refugee presence. In all villages, respondents argue that crime rates have increased since the establishment of the camp, rising further with the arrival of Burundian refugees. In Nyarugusu, all respondents state that they feel unsafe due to incidents like car

hijacking, theft of crops, robbery on travellers, and murder. The security focal person in Nyarugusu, confirms this. In Makere, the chairman also claims that there is increased theft and hijacking. In Kalimungoma security issues are also related to theft of crops and the village chairman says that *“refugees may come to our village, then they steal, they can take things from our belongings [...] they are like robbers and may take some beans and so on.”* Furthermore, they mention that the presence of the refugee camp has led to the over harvesting of forest resources e.g. for firewood, as well as environmental degradation, such as contamination of the river.

To the question how the relationship could be improved, village leaders come up with different ideas. First of all, mentioned by the council members of Kalimungoma, there is a need for free movement of Tanzanians inside the camp. Once that is established, free movement of refugees could also be allowed, since it happens illegally anyway. Secondly, village leaders argue that there is a need to hold meetings between Tanzanians and refugees to share challenges and solve them together. From the governmental perspective, services for refugees should serve host community in more ways, and it would be beneficial to set up a social forum for refugees and host community to exchange ideas. From the villagers’ perspective, farmers and shopkeepers in Makere argue for increased efforts to prevent theft and the need for improved market access in and outside the camp.

The relationship between refugees and Tanzanians is interconnected with the experienced benefits and burdens of villagers. It is acknowledged that refugees bring economic prosperity, however security remains an issue. Similar to the perception of refugees’, the relationship is considered to be solely market or business oriented. For an improvement in the relationship leaders state that the interaction between refugees and villagers should be facilitated, while from the perspective of villagers, improvement in market access and prevention of theft will be most effective.

#### *Perception of Cash Based Transfer*

The perception of the CBT pilot of WFP is diverse among the respondents in the host community. On the one hand, it is expected to boost the economy, hence, 100 percent of the respondents in the position ‘to sell’ expect to have personal benefit from the pilot and

potential expansion of the CBT programme. In addition, a businesswoman explains that it will be beneficial for her to see WFP food disappear from the market, as she has always been in competition with WFP commodities, since they were sold in her village for low price. Furthermore, all village leaders, village executive and division officer agree that a CBT programme will generally be a chance for the host community to economically benefit more from the refugee presence, because of the creation of an increased and of what is perceived as a stable demand. One of the council members of Kalimungoma describes it as follows:

*“This cash project will be benefitting us because we cultivate the crops and have nowhere to sell. After the coming of the refugees we had a place to sell. But the issue is [...] the refugees were given food, so in one way or another the food sold in the market was not sold on the level [that allows us to] sell all the food. But if they are given money then money will increase the circulation and the purchasing power, so it will benefit the farmers”.*

The potential to benefit from increased demand by actually expanding in production or business, is perceived differently among the villages. In Nyarugusu, they do not see the potential to increase production as long as they are using traditional farming practices – making use of human labour. In Makere, however, the majority of businessmen and farmers state to have the will and potential to increase their production once the CBT pilot will expand. Nevertheless, respondents argue that there is a lack of knowledge and capital. Moreover, in Kalimungoma, the village council recognises a potential to increase production and increase the enterprises engaged in food production or trade. However, the village chairman claims to be in need of help from NGOs in terms of knowledge and capital. All in all, the division officer sees potential for increasing production and therefore development in the division of Makere. However, he argues for the need of other and more advanced ways of production: *“Advanced ones, that we can have at least irrigation, irrigation planning,”* to be able to produce during all seasons.

Besides the potential of increasing profit, village and ward leaders, as well as traders, agree on the fact that the CBT programme will improve the relationship that refugees and the host community currently have. The programme has the potential to improve the relationship

mainly because a stronger mutual benefit of each other's presence is created. The division officer describes it as follows: *"Money circulation will rise, businessmen will like refugees to stay here. To stay, so that is the kind of relationship we need here."*

However, one of the first things that respondents mention in the interviews is a fear of a negative impact on the villages, especially for the poor. Most of the respondents, including village leaders, expect that the cash will be spent badly, which will lead to hunger and consequently an increase in theft of crops from their farms. Furthermore, a common concern expressed is that the supply of food in the host community will not be enough to meet the demand of the refugee camp. Some of the respondents articulate that CBT assistance makes them feel responsible for the food supply, which they consider dangerous because of changing and unpredictable weather and climate conditions. A shopkeeper shares her observations as follows:

*"Right now in Kigoma region, Kasulu is the only one expected to have food right now because of the climate and weather issues. There is little rain that fell. Back then people had planted their maize but due to the weather it was not favourable for maturity so it had to dry up and pulled out. Recently, rain started falling, people started planting maize but after it stopped, so the maize started drying again".*

Furthermore, an increasing demand due to the cash distribution, will lead to increasing food prices, respondents argue. Hence, low-income wage labourers will experience difficulties in purchasing food. Additionally, small enterprises and low paid wage labourers are often dependent on the availability of low priced WFP food, either for their business or for own consumption during dry season. As a businessman in Makere explains, the presence of WFP food has maintained a certain level of food security during dry season, which has been essential, especially for the poor: *"During time of hunger, during December, we used to purchase the flour that refugees are given, and they [the refugees] would bring this flour to us."* Moving to cash is therefore expected to have a negative influence on the poorest villagers. Hence, village leaders and the division officer explain that they are encouraging everyone in the village to engage in agricultural production, now that there is a clear demand for it. Despite challenges, recognised by the leadership as well, the ward councillor argues that whenever you have a project or development, there will be advantages and disadvantages:

*“Overall, the relationship will improve. There are challenges in whatever aspect or activity there are, challenges to face. But these challenges should be covered by the advantages of the activity or project you do.”*

Moreover, there are only a few respondents informed about the WFP feasibility study and market assessment. However, those who are aware, believe *“that once the cash project is established, the refugees will have a place to go and buy a variety of food products.”* The village executive officer of Nyarugusu puts forward that aside from the fact that he has to adhere to what the national government decides on the CBT pilot, according to his personal opinion the CBT programme has a great potential for all Tanzanians, through the interaction with refugees.

#### *Encampment policy in practice*

In the context of safety and crime prevention, movement restrictions are seen as useful by the majority of the respondents in the villages. However, some village leaders seem to enforce a looser interpretation of encampment regulations than others, and villagers seem to be divided in terms of how strictly these regulations should be followed up. In Nyarugusu, respondents often encounter refugees in their village and a large majority of the respondents agrees there is no problem if refugees come for market purposes. The security focal person explains:

*“We have no problems with them. Because they come and sell things at their own willingness, and buy things according to their willingness.”*

The chairman of the village explains that over time they have tried to loosen the regulations. If refugees are spotted in the village, they are checked for a permit. However, even when they are not in the possession of a valid permit, when their characteristics do not lead to any suspicion, they can enter and leave the village without trouble. However, similar treatment is expected of villagers spotted in the camp. In Makere, where more than 50 percent of the respondents consider the encampment policy as something valuable, the opinions on the encampment policy are more divided. While, according to some shop owners and farmers, enforcement of these regulations are essential to keep the village safe, the village chairman

argues for more flexible mobility regulations to enhance business and trade. Moreover, one Makere trader argues that for him the regulations do not make sense at all: *“If Tanzanians have access to the common market why do refugees not also have access to our markets?”* In contrast, in Kalimungoma, the chairman and some council members state that whenever a refugee is spotted in their village, he or she is directly handed over to the police and that if they are not in the possession of a permit, he or she is brought back to the camp to follow legal procedures. They argue that it is good to have regulations restricting refugees’ mobility for the reason that Tanzanians also need a permit to enter the camp.

Notwithstanding, one of the council members also claims that ultimately the relationship is perceived to improve when *“the refugees come to the host communities without a permit and Tanzanians into the camp without a permit.”* However, as long as the regulations are there, they will be enforced, the village chairman says. Unlike the difficulties to get a permit as a Tanzanian, that leaders in Kalimungoma describe, the division officer of Makere claims that Tanzanians are easily provided with a permit when they come to him. He, on the other hand, argues that the regulations for acquiring a permit are too difficult for the refugees. In his opinion, refugees should have freedom of movement. Nevertheless, he mentions as well, that when such a law is in place, it needs to be enforced. This is, however, contradicted by the Ward Councillor of Makere, who claims that mobility restrictions, like all laws and regulations, should be more flexibly understood:

*“The fact is that we cannot adhere to all regulations and rules, there are some to be broken [...] in my opinion, I see no use, no value of putting these regulations, because for the current interaction, the relationship right now, there is no need of having regulations of going in and out.”*

Now, when putting the CBT programme in relation to the encampment policy, respondents often change their views, mentioning not to mind or even to prefer refugees’ access to their markets, when they are in the possession of money. The village chairman and several businessmen and women of Makere, including those who find enforcement of encampment a necessity, argue that the encampment has lost its importance when refugees receive cash,

now limiting new potential business relations. A businessman explains this with the logic of the common market:

*“The common market was established in order to build a connection, try to develop a business connection between the refugees and the citizens. Then, if they establish a common market to build this connection, it won't have any meaning if the regulations are [restricting] the refugees to come out of the camp.”*

When receiving cash, approximately 60 percent of the village respondents think it is acceptable for refugees to come to the villages, either because they are expected to have good intentions – mainly the argument in Nyarugusu village – or based on the logic that Tanzanians also have gained benefits through the access to the common market. In Makere village, some of these respondents even think it would be more beneficial for them if refugees come to the local markets to buy their commodities. In Kalimungoma, where there is no market infrastructure present currently, the village chairman argues that:

*“If a market was in this village it would be good, because there are some situations if you have cassava, you have maize or you have a huge cargo which tends to be difficult to take it to the common market. So, it would be much easier for the refugees to come and buy things here and then go.”*

The other 40 percent of the village respondents argue it would still be better if refugees would stay in the common market, mainly because their business is based there or because the price is expected to be higher in the common market. However, there are still a number of respondents that would fear a situation of free movement, and prefer the refugees to have their own market economy, remaining isolated from the host community.

In short, the results of the interviews give an idea of how refugees and host communities perceive their lives and livelihoods and refugee presence, and the potential of the Cash Based pilot in that context. The pilot is mainly perceived as promising for the economy in host communities, and providing a much-wanted choice in consumptions in the refugee camp. Nevertheless, some striking contradictions and challenges are posed, mainly related to the

status quo of refugee–host community relationship. In what follows, the results will be discussed that are key in identifying the implications of encampment for host community and refugees in regard to the Cash Based Transfer project.

## Discussion

### *Potential of Cash Based Transfer assistance*

WFP developed the CBT pilot with the goal and expectation that this, as a more dignified form of aid, will improve the quality of life for refugees living in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp, while the host community can benefit economically. Indeed, the findings show that there is a consensus among refugees that the CBT programme will, or already has, increased the quality of life, as well as there is full agreement among the host community and local government that CBT benefits businesspeople, farmers and the community overall.

Whitaker (2002) states that refugee presence in Kasulu district is causing unevenly divided benefits in the host community “with business people and other advantaged people clearly gaining more” (p.356). Similarly, CBT assistance seems to create benefits for traders and sellers, while it is likely to be problematic for low-income labourers. The findings show that WFP food distribution has hampered demand for local produce by competing with businesses in local markets, also mentioned by Landau (2003), whereas low income labourers often have depended on WFP food distribution in especially the dry season. Now that CBT is introduced as a substitute for WFP food, this will be an opportunity for businesspeople and farmers to increase their merchandise or production, while it might further decrease the economic situation of the poor. According to village leaders and local government, an uneven division of benefits is an insurmountable outcome of any development or programme. What is important according to them, however, is that there is confidence in the community that CBT will increase money circulation in the market, which will lead to economic development. Indeed, farmers, traders and businesses already started to sell their goods in the common market, or are planning to do so, which shows that the first effects of increased demand are noticed and profited from. Nevertheless, it should be taken into account that such developments could increase the gap between rich and poor in the host community, which could lead to tensions and “added resentment down the road” (Whitaker, 2002, p.356).

Moreover, findings show that with the establishment of the common market and the CBT pilot, livelihood opportunities for refugees are arising as well. With the establishment of the market, refugees have seen opportunities to start small businesses or found jobs in the shops that have recently been opened by Tanzanian villagers. Also, it seems that, for those who start a business, obtaining a permit is rather easy. This means that with the establishment of the common market and increasing demand through the CBT pilot, an opportunity to develop livelihood activities and to become included in the economic life arises (Agamben, 2005). The participation of refugees in the common market is beneficial for the availability of commodities in the market, increasing the competition, and creating additional income, which is likely to reduce negative coping strategies (cf. Dick, 2003). Although this sounds promising, Crisp (2003) rightly points out that such opportunities will only benefit a small group of people “who have entrepreneurial skills and access to capital” (p,14), which is observed in this study as well. Furthermore, as mentioned by Werker (2007) the isolated position of the refugee camp increases transportation and information cost, and the need for a permit induces inflexibility, which will overall compromise the opportunity of refugees to compete in a market.

Furthermore, the findings show that the market relationship, generated through the CBT pilot and accommodated by the common market, is considered valuable to alleviate tensions between refugees and host community. Research, conducted more than fifteen years ago, found that host community members feared encounters with refugees and therefore avoided getting close to the camp (Landau, 2001). Moreover, it was observed that refugees experienced hostile behaviour of local villagers (Landau, 2001; Whitaker, 2002; Dick, 2003). This present study shows that tensions between refugees and local villagers have remained. In addition, both refugees as well as local villagers experienced a deteriorating situation with the arrival of Burundians refugees. The refugee camp doubled in size at that time during the influx of 2015 (European Commission, 2017) and rising crime rates and environmental degradation were experienced. Therefore, it is significant that all respondents, refugees as well as local villagers, experience the interaction on the common market as something positive. Furthermore, villagers are no longer reluctant to get closer to the camp, showing interest in going to the common market to sell their crops and products. Hence, the

establishment of the common market and demand – through CBT assistance – seems to create a ‘common’ place for interaction that is valuable for an improvement in the relationship.

Consequently, the results indicate a change in mindset in the host community, in regard to the value of encampment regulations. Whereas farmers and shopkeepers initially spoke about refugees as a security threat and saw the encampment policy as a necessity, in a scenario where cash is distributed to the refugees, some of the same respondents change their mind and argue for the alleviation or even the abolishment of those same regulations. It is interesting that, in a scenario in which refugees have cash, the conversation shifts to the potential and similarities between refugees and Tanzanians, and that the mobility restrictions have lost their value due to the establishment of a market. The latter shows an already existing ambiguity of a burden-benefit duality of refugee presence, scrutinised by Ongpin (2008), that seems to move to a more positive perception of refugees. Although the encampment regulations are still considered a necessity to keep ‘trouble makers’ away from the villages and farmland, the CBT assistance seems to have the potential to create an atmosphere in which movement and interaction in and outside the camp seem much more possible.

In short, in addition to certain tangible benefits, such as increased money circulation in the market and business and job opportunities, the implementation of a CBT programme appears to contribute positively to the relationship between refugees and host community, bringing about changes in attitude towards long lasting regulations. Yet, what are the consequences of an isolated market and a mobility restricted supply and demand flow for such expected outcomes? The following part will discuss some of the implications of encampment for the potential of the CBT programme based on the results.

### *Implications of Tanzania’s encampment policy*

Even though CBT assistance has great potential, it cannot be ignored that the encampment policy might pose challenges to the success of the CBT programme, already articulated in WFPs market assessment (WFP, 2016d) and now shown in this study, from the perspective of refugees, host community and local government. The findings display that the positive impact

of the CBT programme on refugees' lives could be compromised due to the inability to move freely. Similarly, such regulations seem to create circumstances that pose challenges to the host community as well. This has led to a growing awareness among refugees and villagers of a market-related interdependency that, even though considered favourable and promising by both parties, could be precarious and troublesome due to encampment circumstances.

The findings show that refugees fear for an unequal dependency on food supply from the host community. They argue that mobility restrictions put them in a powerless position, forcing them to buy the commodities on the common market at any price. Subsequently, they state that Tanzanian farmers and businesses demand high prices, while their own income has remained fixed. The ability to demand a high price will depend on the availability of suppliers in the common market (WFP, 2016d), which can indeed be challenging given that it is a rather isolated market. It was already shown by WFP, before the start of the CBT pilot that, "refugees' restricted access to visit surrounding markets to purchase their food has meant that the price of food in NCM [Nyarugusu Common Market] is by-and-large higher than in surrounding markets" (WFP, 2016d, p.42) Similarly, Werker (2007) described the market circumstances in one of the Ugandan refugee camps Kyangwali, where prices in the refugee market also has gone up due to its isolated location and mobility restrictions for refugees. "Even if the traders do not specifically collude to try and cheat the refugees, such a market can sustain higher prices much more easily than in a city with many wholesalers" (Werker, 2007, p.469). Therefore, even though the market assessment reports that Kigoma has enough surplus to provide for refugees, and traders have the capacity to respond fast to increasing demand, the encampment policy implies an isolated market mechanism that leaves refugees in a position of limited bargaining power. Hence, this could lead to conflict, disrupting the positive market relationship, or lead to other consequences such as illegal movement.

Knowing that it has always been difficult to keep refugees inside the camp (Jacobsen, 2002), the findings show that with the rising price on the common market, an increasing number of refugees now consider other places than the common market to purchase their food. It is significant that only approximately ten percent of the refugees claim to have been outside the camp without a permit, while forty-four percent of the respondents argue to be determined or considering going to local markets without a permit, when market prices

further rise. Initially, this does not necessarily seem to be a problem, as the findings also have shown that encampment regulations become less relevant to respondents in the host community with the implementation of a CBT programme. Hence, this is letting us believe that increased mobility might not become as risky as refugees describe their experiences of bribes, beatings, imprisonment as consequence of illegal movement. Notwithstanding potential easing developments in regard to the local enforcement of mobility restrictions, there is a reason to be cautious with such expectations: An informal allowance to access local markets might appear to be a form of inclusion for refugees' as economic actors, however, as long as the encampment policy exists, refugees will be vulnerable to exploitation, displaying a situation that Agamben (2005) has described as inclusive exclusion.

Through the encampment policy, the refugees in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp can be considered excluded from the political, economic and social life in Tanzania. Subsequently, looking at the informal flow of refugees to the host communities, described by Landau (2001) Agamben would argue that what is outside can also be included "by means of the suspension of the juridical order's validity" (Agamben, 1998, p.18). Rules are there to be broken, because they are not all relevant, the Ward Councillor argued, and indeed this study shows that refugees coming to local markets are not necessarily considered of any harm. As such, the CBT programme offers refugees that inclusion – by receiving cash they become an economic actor, able to engage with Tanzanian suppliers even on local markets.

However, in this state of exception, "the refugee conveys a grey zone of ambivalence" that leads to what Diken and Laustsen (2005, p79) describe as 'fundamental undecidability'. Even when the host community becomes more open to receive refugees – making an exception to the encampment policy - as long as encampment laws and regulations are existing, the refugee will be in a state in which he or she can become excluded at any time. For instance, this case study clearly shows that there are differences between villages, leaders and other individuals, in how they consider refugees outside the camp, how they should be dealt with or how regulations should be enforced. Therefore, given the grey zone of ambivalence, the refugee that tries his or her luck in local markets, will be subjected to the tolerance of the host community on individual basis and determined by changing leadership (Rutinwa, 2005). This means that even when the CBT programme would lead to the informal acceptance of

refugees in accessing local markets, its position will allow “unlimited exposure to violation which does not count as a crime” (Ziarek, 2012, p. 196). Subsequently, this (physical) insecurity for refugees can deteriorate an already distorted market mechanism, according to Werker (2007). Concluding, as long as an encampment policy exists, the refugee seems to be stuck in a vulnerable position, unequal in the interaction created through the market, either in or outside the camp.

Then, from the perspective of the host community, farmers and business owners have expressed a feeling of responsibility to provide for the refugee population, if WFP decides to fully shift from in-kind to cash. Drawing upon experiences of unrealised harvest potential due to changing weather patterns, this has induced a feeling of fear of not being able to provide. Even though it is upon WFP to offer an alternative in such circumstances, respondents in the host community see that limited food availability from their side could increase prices. Extreme price fluctuations are not uncommon in the area, “because without refrigeration, silos, or affordable transportation, Tanzania’s commodity markets are characterised by cycles of glut and shortage” (Landau, 2003, p.11). However, the findings display that such a deficit in local supply is expected to further decrease the purchasing power of low-income labourers in the community, as mentioned before, a group that is already disadvantaged in case less WFP food is available in the dry season. The results disclose that most respondents are not aware of the WFP’s market assessment (WFP, 2016d), and therefore, that Kigoma has enough surplus to provide for the additional demand of refugees. Regardless, it is claimed that harvest loss is (still) likely due to changing weather patterns. Concluding, providing cash to refugees that are restricted in accessing and supplying for local markets, has resulted in a feeling of responsibility in the host community, for which lacking confidence in production induced fear for an expansion of the CBT pilot.

Whereas the host community might feel responsible, based on the perception that refugees become dependent on their supply, the demand that is created by the refugees encourages Tanzanian farmers to produce, developing a dependency from the host community on refugee presence as well. Such interdependency is not directly recognised by respondents, villagers nor leaders, nonetheless it seems likely to develop. Findings show that a CBT programme is expected to stimulate production in the host community, for a market that will

carry a much larger demand than the local markets in Kasulu district ever did. The Country Director of WFP, Michael Dunford explained in the Citizen that this will add approximately 90,000 USD each month to the economy, only including a target group of 10,000 refugees (Dunford, 2017). Consequently, it seems that the – often critiqued – cycle of dependence on humanitarian aid, in protracted refugee situations (European Commission, 2014), now increasingly involves the host community as well. Subsequently, the findings show that the host community considers the demand, created through CBT, to be stable and secured, and as such even more beneficial for farmers and businesspeople. However, the idea that this demand is stable is not only questionable, it also reveals a contradiction with the national and political agenda: while the Tanzanian government maintains a policy that aims for repatriation or return (Milner, 2009), a local market will be developed based on the demand of refugees', that is considered as stable and secure. Jacobsen (2002) states that "host governments can be offset [from deterring policies] if the benefits of refugees can be demonstrated" (p.579). If through a CBT programme, it could be more easily shown that Tanzania can profit from refugee presence, what would this mean for the 'protracted' situation of refugee displacement? Would a successful expansion of the CBT pilot, become an influential factor in how this protracted refugee situation unfolds? These are questions to take into consideration when implementing CBT programmes.

In any case, it should be noted that in every outcome or scenario discussed in this section, in which the CBT programme would create for instance food shortage, lead to increasing prices or give rise to tensions, WFP would remain responsible, with a possibility to return to in-kind distribution or intervene in other ways. However, with a clear and strong preference of refugees to receive cash, returning to in-kind distribution will perhaps be a challenging decision inducing commotion. Furthermore, with a growing dependency from the host community on the demand that CBT will create, once fully up and running, a possible decision to return to in-kind assistance might have a negative influence on businesses and farmers. Particularly, this might impact the smallholder farmers that do not have the means to expand to a larger supply chain. Nevertheless, Whitaker (2002) draws on the example of Karagwe refugee camp to show that the ability of a host community to adapt, should not be underestimated: "A visit to Karagwe more than sixteen months after the Rwandan repatriation found towns and villages surprisingly vibrant despite the departure of refugees

and most aid agencies” (p.356). It shows that a large market based on refugee presence will not necessarily collapse when refugees leave. Nevertheless, in a later stage of the CBT programme, further research on the linkages between farmers and businesses and the common market and their ability to move to larger supply chains, could be beneficial to understand this dependency on refugee presence. A brief discussion will follow on how CBT influences the argument for non-encampment.

### *Cash Based Transfer - A case for non-encampment?*

There is an overall conviction among authors, looking at the case of Nyarugusu Refugee Camp, that the encampment policy is counterproductive and unsustainable, both for refugees as well as the host community. Therefore, Dick (2003) claims that "the host government must be convinced that allowing refugees more freedoms and more development opportunities would benefit Tanzania more than the current system" (p.27). How does this study, looking at the implications of the encampment policy for the potential of CBT assistance, relate to the argument for non-encampment? Jacobsen (2002) claims that host government can be convinced that refugees do not only pose a burden on the country, if benefits can be made evident, something that authors like Whitaker (2002), Landau (2001; 2003) and Ongpin (2008) have - sometimes indirectly - aimed to do. However, "efforts to measure the economic impact of refugees are notoriously difficult" (Jacobsen, 2002). Regarding the latter, with a quantifiable amount of money spend in the common or local market, the CBT programme can potentially offer a way to more easily show the benefits for the host community.

Furthermore, arguing for the importance of a non-encampment alternative, Whitaker (2002) states that mobility restrictions prevent the host community to benefit from refugee presence. Though the findings show that the host community expects that CBT assistance will increase their benefits from refugee presence, the encampment policy has enhanced certain dependencies and vulnerabilities that could limit the potential benefit in the long term. Werker (2007) states that "reducing the isolation of the camp (by decreasing the barriers to entry and exit of people and goods [...] should, in most situations, result in an institutional environment more conducive to economic prosperity" (p.476). Correspondingly, the feeling of responsibility and fear that villagers expressed, the idea that abolishment of permit

regulations would improve the relationship and the fact that an isolated market will increase prices and consequently illegal movement, show that also in the case of such a CBT programme in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp, a non-encampment alternative seems to be much more beneficial for all parties involved.

Subsequently, Jacobsen (2002) explains that, aside from security reasons, encampment policies are also enforced “because the government of local authorities seek to sustain or augment their legitimacy by adapting refugee policies to be more in keeping with the host population’s unwillingness to allow the refugee to continue living amongst them” (Jacobsen, 2002). Now, with the implementation of the CBT pilot, the necessity of mobility restrictions is less supported in the host community and local government. Therefore, this change in mind-set might in the end eliminate the reason for the Government to enforce an encampment policy for the sake of gaining support from its citizens.

Concluding, this study does not necessarily provide tangible evidence to build the non-encampment argument, as it was not the aim to study the impact of the CBT programme, still in its pilot phase, however, it shows that with the implementation of CBT programme, the benefit of refugee presence for host community can potentially be shown more easily. Furthermore, new implications of encampment policy have been revealed that display the burden of such policy.

## Conclusion

This case study was conducted in order to *explore the implications of an encampment policy for the potential of Cash Based Transfer* assistance. Refugees, local farmers, businesspeople and leaders in the host community of Nyarugusu Refugee Camp were interviewed to explore contradictions between the prerequisites of a successful implementation of WFP’s CBT pilot and the regulations and status quo of what Tanzania’s encampment policy entails in and around Nyarugusu Refugee Camp. In summary, this study suggests that, as intended by WFP, CBT assistance is beneficial for refugees, as well as profitable for the local economy in the host community, specifically benefitting businesses and commercial farmers. With long lasting and remaining security issues and tensions between refugees and the host community,

expanding market interaction due to CBT programme seems to ease hostilities, leading to a more positive relationship. Consequently, the host community is more open to receive refugees in the local markets, as economic actors.

However, an implication of Tanzania's encampment policy is that the CBT programme leads to a market interdependency that is unstable and possibly problematic. First of all, refugees' limited bargaining power in a market with relatively high prices could lead to tensions and illegal movement to other markets. Hence, in spite of easing attitudes towards refugees, as long as the encampment policy exists - criminalising mobility beyond the borders of the camp without permit - the refugees will remain vulnerable to exploitation. Secondly, because of the encampment policy, refugees largely depend on external actors to fulfil the demand that will be generated with the implementation of CBT. Consequently, this has led to concerns in the host community creating caution towards a possible expansion of the CBT pilot. At the same time, the rising demand does encourage businesses and farmers to produce for what is generally considered a stable demand which is in turn contradictory to the aim Tanzania's political agenda. Therefore, as a certain dependency on humanitarian aid seems to grow in the host community, Tanzania's encampment policy will not only have implications for the potential of the CBT pilot. A successful implementation and expansion of the CBT pilot might also have implications for the aim and future of the encampment policy itself.

All in all, the implications of Tanzania's encampment policy for the potential of the CBT pilot in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp contribute to building the argument for non-encampment as it shows how the benefits of CBT for both refugees and the host community are more likely to be compromised. Additionally, once fully implemented, a CBT programme will offer a new angle with which to study the interaction between refugees and the Tanzanian host community, something that many authors have aimed to do over the past two decades.

To conclude, the case of Nyarugusu Refugee Camp, shows that the implementation of CBT assistance in encampment circumstances requires close monitoring of not only market prices and availability, but more importantly the perceptions and views of those involved. Only by doing so, will it be possible to discover and react to unintended and unexpected consequences, such as increased illegal mobility and tensions based on rising prices. Those

consequences could disrupt the positive effects of CBT assistance and possibly induce a change in governmental support. The case of Nyarugusu Refugee Camp can be useful for future CBT programme planning and implementation, possibly in the other two camps in Tanzania, Nduta and Mtendeli, as they are in the same region and under the same encampment policy. Even though encampment policies and CBT programmes can differ significantly in their application, in other refugee camps in East Africa, such as in Kenya, and Malawi, similar implications could occur leading to precarious dependencies and contradictions with long lasting policies. Therefore, this study could be useful to advocate more in-depth research and contribute to the setup of feasibility studies by humanitarian organizations to identify specific interdependencies and attitudes, aspects that need close monitoring and consultation with refugees and their host communities.

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# Appendix

## Interview themes

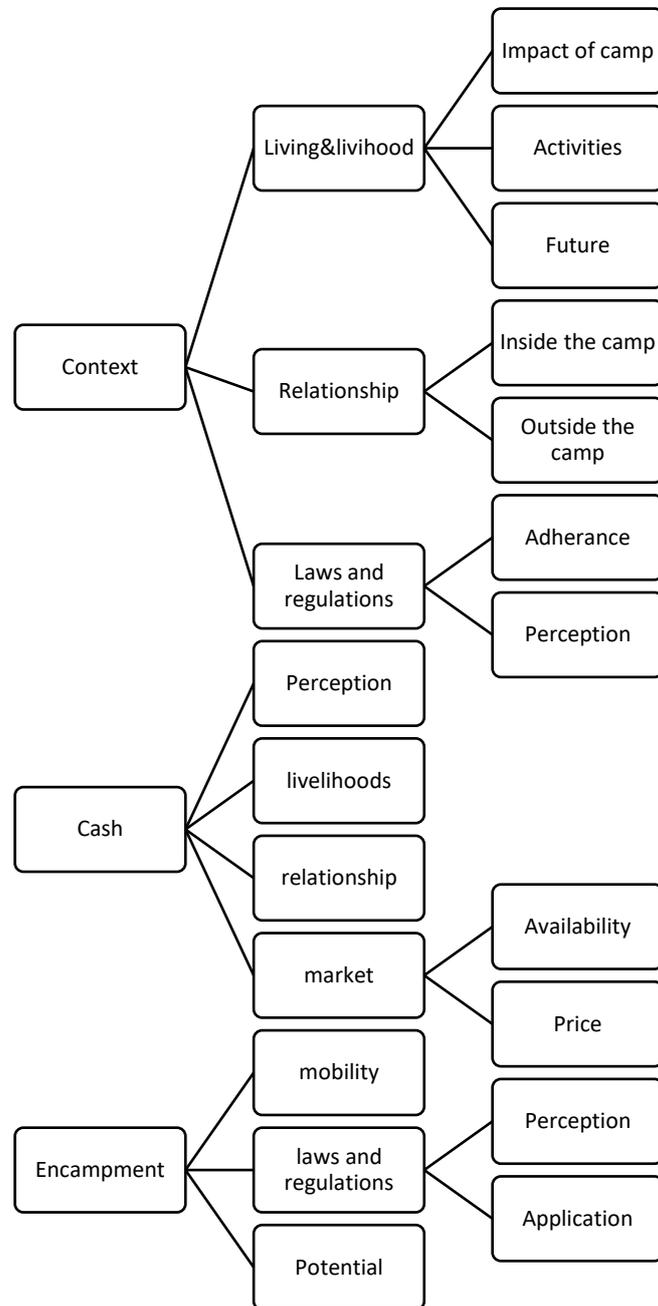


FIGURE 1 GENERIC THEME LIST FOR INTERVIEWS - ADAPTED FOR EACH INTERVIEW