The Right to the City for Urban Displaced

A Review of the Barriers to Safe and Equal Access to the City for the Displaced Residents of Dar es Salaam

INTERNATIONAL
RESCUE
COMMITTEE

The Right to the City for Urban Displaced

A Review of the Barriers to Safe and Equal Access to the City for the Displaced Residents of Dar es Salaam

Table of Contents

DAR ES SALAAM

Figure 1:   Spatial Growth of Dar es Salaam, 1975–2002

Urban area in **1975**

1982

1992

1998

2002

Unbuilt/agricultural
Dar es Salaam region

Unbuilt/agricultural
Pwani region

Central business district
(CBD)

KINONDOMI

UBUNGO

ILALA

KIGAMBONI

TEMEKE

10 km   Major road   Railway   Waterway   N
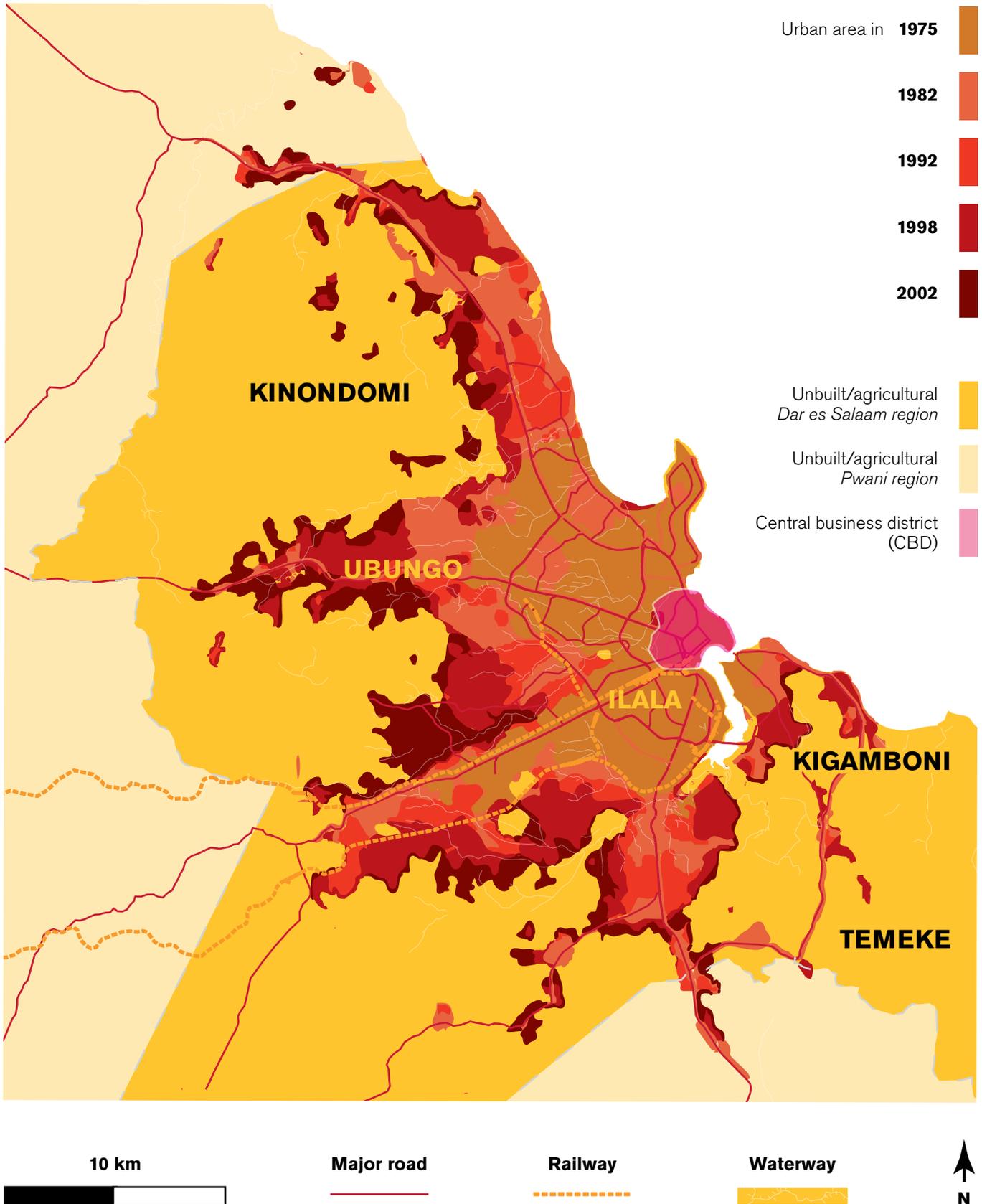
Executive Summary

Urbanisation is changing the nature of humanitarian response. In the 21st century, the phenomenon is most prevalent in developing countries; it is estimated that cities in developing countries will account for 96 per cent of urban population growth between 2013 and 2030.[1] Today, 80 per cent of all refugees worldwide are found in developing countries and 60 per cent of the global refugee population, or 36 million refugees, reside in urban areas.[2][3]

As urbanisation continues, these refugees increasingly find themselves in competition with economic migrants and with long-term urban residents for access to public services and economic opportunities in cities and towns. The struggle of urban dwellers to access services and economic opportunities is best encapsulated using Henri Lefebvre's concept of the *Right to the City,*[4] which provides a social lens through which to analyse the relative enjoyment of rights and access that different marginalised populations have to the city.

Defining the Right to the City

As it relates to urban displaced persons, this report uses "Right to the City" to refer to an urban dweller's ability to safely and fairly access public and social services, opportunities for self-sustainability, education, employment and safe and welcoming environments in which to reside.

The New Urban Agenda, the outcome document of the United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat III) as adopted by member states, refers to the Right to the City as its guiding visionary principle. It views achieving the Right to the City as securing "equal use and enjoyment of cities and human settlements, seeking to promote inclusivity and [ensuring] that all inhabitants, of present and future generations, without discrimination of any kind, are able to inhabit and produce just, safe, healthy, accessible, affordable, resilient and sustainable cities and human settlements to foster prosperity and quality of life for all."[5] The document also calls for the inclusion, safety, and economic wellbeing of "refugees, internally displaced persons, and migrants, particularly the poorest and those in vulnerable situations."[6] Understanding how the Right to the City may include displaced populations, therefore, is critical to reaching the aims of the New Urban Agenda.

While the concept of the Right to the City has morphed in definition and application from Lefebvre's original, the foundational principle seeks to determine the formal and informal limitations that marginalised groups face in an urban environment by considering their legal rights and practical ability to access the city's services, systems and resources. The concept is especially pertinent when considering newly urbanised marginalised groups as well as urban displaced populations[7] (non-registered migrants or refugees) as both groups tend to occupy lower levels of the city's socio-economic strata.[8] Social dichotomies between long-time city dwellers and newcomers, be they citizens or displaced persons, are apparent on various levels. Newly urbanised citizens may not know the language, the laws or the unwritten social rules that dictate relationships in the city, and they have not had time to develop the social networks or capital that can help them access unfamiliar urban services.

While newly urbanised citizens and displaced populations face many of the same social and economic challenges, non-registered migrants and refugees often face additional difficulty in terms of their legal right to remain in the country in general, or to reside in a location of their choosing, and they frequently lack personal documentation needed to access support and services. Furthermore, many urban displaced persons are stigmatised by association with the conflicts they leave behind, and host populations may view them as harbingers of violence.

Humanitarians responding to displacement crises in urban areas, therefore, must take particular care to ensure that displaced populations and vulnerable communities alike enjoy the Right to the City to the same extent as all other urban dwellers. This is particularly important in reference to their ability to safely and fairly access public and social services and opportunities for sustainable self-reliance, as well as to avoid social discrimination and exploitation based on their race, ethnicity, religion or culture.

With this goal in mind, this report presents an analysis of the challenges that displaced populations face in accessing services and achieving self-reliance in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, a developing and fast-growing city. The findings and recommendations, intended primarily for humanitarian actors, are derived from qualitative research conducted in Dar es Salaam between March and October 2016. This research draws upon the perspectives and experiences of urban displaced, Tanzanians, local and national government, and organisations directly involved with urban refugee programming in the city. The findings contribute to the ongoing discussion and application of urban humanitarian response tool kits, such as the IRC's *Urban Context Analysis Toolkit,* which was piloted in Dar es Salaam in October of 2016. This report is not an evaluation, but a product intended to inform and influence operational practice and policies in ongoing and future urban programming. The research builds upon that of Aisling O'Loghlen and her initial connection of displaced residing in Dar es Salaam to Lefebvre's concept of the Right to the City.

Findings

The findings of this report highlight the protection concerns of the urban displaced residing in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania and the factors that keep them from realising their Right to the City.

1   **The majority of displaced living in Dar es Salaam do not have permission to live or work in Tanzania. Those who do so without authorisation risk serious consequences – even deportation – if discovered. Therefore they cannot safely access services from public (national and municipal) actors in Dar es Salaam**.

    Further, their precarious situation makes it difficult for displaced persons to even access reliable information about services and support. As a result, they find it difficult to identify and make use of the limited services that exist.

2   **Negative stereotypes regarding the urban displaced population exacerbates the challenges that are specific to their status, and can result in a hostile, insecure living environment, where discrimination and exploitation are commonplace.**

    This severely impedes many non-registered migrants and refugees' access to education, housing, economic opportunities and healthcare.

3   **Given their fear of discrimination and exploitation, displaced living in Dar es Salaam go to great lengths to hide the fact that they are non-citizens (even when they have authorisation to live in the city).**

    Given the need to respect non-registered migrants and refugees' wish to remain anonymous, service providers struggle to identify potential beneficiaries, assess how best to assist them or even to ensure they are aware of the services available. As a result, the urban displaced of Dar es Salaam are "hidden" and poorly provided for.

4   **Urban displaced often join marginalised neighbourhoods, and many of the challenges they face in accessing services such as healthcare and education may also affect the host population.**

    This is particularly the case when it comes to government policies and mechanisms that hinder the ability of displaced populations to access services. These challenges affect all marginalised populations and are often exacerbated by urbanisation.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are general principles derived from the findings to guide humanitarian and development programming for urban displaced and host populations in developing contexts.

1 Humanitarians should ensure that urban displaced populations are aware of services available to them both through local service providers and NGOs (local and international).

Mapping existing services (public, private and NGO) is essential. In particular, displaced persons should have clear, reliable information regarding the implications of their migration status or place of residence when accessing services.

Humanitarians should work with local partners (from both the public and private sectors) as well as national-level and international actors to fill service gaps. When displaced persons face barriers to accessing services, humanitarian organisations should advocate to create new or influence existing policies to remove the barriers of access and push for more inclusive service delivery channels on the part of public actors. Lastly, humanitarians should act as a watchdog to ensure that displaced persons don't fall into the cracks of various levels of government service provision.

2 Humanitarians should have clear guidelines and programmatic approaches to combat discrimination against urban displaced and marginalised members of the host communities, promoting social cohesion between diverse groups.

In order to do so, humanitarians should first gain a full understanding of the drivers of social tension and discrimination, which are often more complex than a simple refugee versus host population divide.

3 Humanitarians should develop a robust understanding of the vulnerabilities shared by multiple marginalised populations living in a single neighbourhood, area, or socio–economic group and how to best address those vulnerabilities through targeted humanitarian involvement.

This means taking a community- or area-based and multi-sectoral approach to programming, while also engaging in meaningful partnerships with other organisations, including non-traditional humanitarian partners, employing similar approaches.

RIGHT: Dar es Salaam is growing rapidly, both informally and formally through planned construction.   *Samer Saliba/IRC*

The IRC's Urban Response Principles

The IRC has been working in cities and towns impacted by humanitarian crises for decades and our experience shows that urban settings require new approaches to delivering assistance. We are currently exploring innovative ways to support displaced and host communities in urban contexts to survive, recover and rebuild their lives.

We are dedicated to not only meeting the immediate needs of affected populations, but to also fostering recovery, resilience, and self-reliance in the aftermath of a crisis. Our aim is to help affected populations to be safer and healthier, with less disruption to their education, economic wellbeing, and ability to influence decisions that affect them. We want to contribute to cities being better able to cope with future shocks and stresses. We are committed to improving our response to urban crises and sharing our experience and evidence with the wider humanitarian community.

While there is no effective one-size-fits-all approach, the following principles can guide an effective response to humanitarian crises in urban contexts.

URBAN PARTNERSHIPS, COLLABORATION AND INCLUSION

Cities are shaped by a multitude of international, national and local actors from multiple sectors, including government, civil society organisations (CSOs), the academic community, the private sector and development practitioners. These diverse actors, who possess valuable knowledge of and influence over how the city functions, form networks that humanitarians can leverage to inform effective and inclusive responses. Their understanding of how the city operates and provides services, as well as how legal and social frameworks affect the lives of urban residents and communities is a critical, but often overlooked, resource. Humanitarians should support local authorities and service providers to coordinate responses while leveraging the emergence of national and locally led response networks to ensure that activities and advocacy are well coordinated. Such an approach will help build local and sustainable capacity for preparedness and response while striving for the inclusion and empowerment of marginalised groups, such as women and minority groups.

WORKING WITHIN A COMPLEX CONTEXT

As no two cities are alike, no two cities in crisis are alike. Effective urban humanitarian response requires a full understanding of the scale and complexities of the local context, its interconnected systems and stakeholders, and the way in which diverse urban communities live within it and alongside one another. To be most effective, humanitarian actors working in an urban context should take into account local power dynamics, social networks, existing structures, systems and geography in order to identify suitable entry points and opportunities to leverage the distinct characteristics of the city or town.

SUPPORTING RECOVERY AND RESILIENCE

Building long-term recovery and resilience must be considered from the outset of a crisis, as the transition from emergency response to recovery can be rapid and normally involves a period in which the two phases overlap. Cities operate on longstanding and interconnected networks of service provision channels (such as education, health, and legal services), markets, governance structures and social systems. Humanitarians should strive to work within these systems, to avoid their duplication or disruption, and to work in ways that leaves them stronger and better able to ensure long-term recovery and resilience.

ABOVE RIGHT: The city centre of Dar es Salaam in 2011.
Chen Haulin (Wikimedia); unaltered except crop and colour balance, no endorsement implied, CC BY-SA 3.0

Introduction

Report Overview

This report is an output of the International Rescue Committee's (IRC) advocacy and learning partnership on urban humanitarian crises with the UK's Department for International Development (DFID).

Using a combination of qualitative and desk-based research, this report aims to shed light on the following questions:

> **What barriers, if any, do displaced persons face in accessing public services and exercising their human rights in Dar es Salaam?**

> **Does their situation differ from that of Tanzanians of a similar socio-economic background? If so, how and why?**

> **What role do urban service providers (the national and local government, local and international NGOs and other local stakeholders) play in providing services for displaced populations and economically disadvantaged Tanzanians in Dar es Salaam?**

> **How does social tension between displaced and host populations affect non-registered migrants and refugees' (documented and undocumented) ability to fully exercise their human rights?**

The IRC's research in Dar es Salaam has looked into displaced persons' access to public services and investigated whether and how their political and socio-economic status has been significant in this.

The Dar es Salaam context provides a lens into the challenges that might predictably face refugees and non-registered migrants generally in developing urban settings. This research and the subsequent recommendations will be utilised by the IRC and will be available to humanitarian actors as a resource for use in the planning and implementation of programming to support the displaced in similar urban contexts.

Figure 2: Dar es Salaam in relation to Refugee Camps
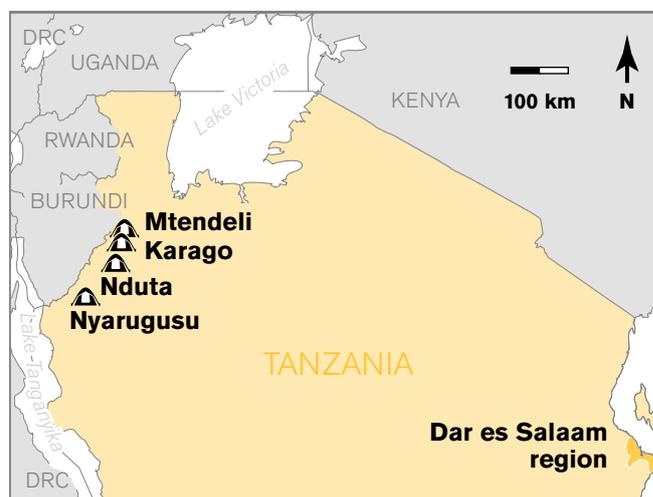
The Dar es Salaam Context

Past Refugee Policies

Since achieving independence in 1961, Tanzania has been a significant host nation for refugees in East Africa, having maintained a relatively open-door policy to asylum seekers from Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo and, in an earlier period, Rwanda, among other countries. Its openness, however, has varied over the past few decades.

The 1990s represented a period of regional turmoil and unrest in neighbouring countries led to an increase in the number of refugees fleeing to Tanzania. The 1998 Refugee Act and the subsequent 2003 Refugee Policy introduced a requirement that refugees live in designated camps with only very limited right to move outside (for medical treatment, for example, or after receiving scholarships or for repatriation, among other possibilities). With no right to work or cultivate land, they were dependent on humanitarian aid. In 2008, the Government of Tanzania began to close refugee camps, leaving only two operational.[9]

Today, Tanzania continues to open its borders to refugees fleeing from neighbouring countries. Since April 2015, Tanzania has received over 180,000 new refugees, predominantly from Burundi, and opened additional camps to accommodate them. Notably, the Government of Tanzania made commitments in the 2016 UN General Assembly to progressively create an enabling environment for refugees.[10]

The Context Today

There is no official data on refugees or asylum seekers currently living in Dar es Salaam. A report by the US Department of State Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor reported as many as 10,000 refugees[11] were living in urban areas,[12] while other reports put the number in the tens of thousands.[13] These estimates primarily represent Congolese refugees, most of whom came to Dar es Salaam in the 1990s, and Burundian refugees who arrived in the 1970s. Refugees who arrived from Burundi following a flare-up in political violence in 2015 are not included.[14]

Despite these estimates, UNHCR, through its implementing partner Relief to Development Society (REDESO), is currently assisting approximately 200 refugees in Dar es Salaam (largely those with permits to reside outside of camps).[15] UNHCR provides financial assistance to this subgroup and operates in partnership with the Tanzanian Department of Refugee Affairs, which sits within the Ministry of Home Affairs. Under the current policy, the UNHCR is only able to extend services to urban refugees with medical or protection needs that cannot be met in the designated camps.

The willingness of the Tanzanian government to address the unsustainability of encampment policies[17] provides development practitioners and international donors a unique opportunity to support the government in transforming refugee assistance in the Great Lakes region. Tanzania's urban displaced population faces three notable barriers to living secure lives in Dar es Salaam, including lack of permission to live and work in the city, discrimination, and limited economic opportunity.

Categories of Urban Displaced in Tanzania

In 2011, Asylum Access provided the following categorisation of displaced persons living in urban areas of Tanzania. By all accounts, these categories remain the clearest breakdown of the various groups of urban displaced in the country, and account for most of the urban displaced living in Tanzania.

> **'Permit' refugees**
> A recognised refugee who has been registered in a camp and has a permit to live outside the camp (either permanently or temporarily).

> **'Non-permit' refugees**
> A recognised refugee who was registered in a camp but who left without obtaining the necessary permit to reside outside.

> **Non-registered migrants**
> A person with irregular migration status who lives in Dar es Salaam. Such migrants may yet apply for recognition of refugee status.

The majority of displaced residing in the urban areas of Tanzania are either 'non-permit' refugees or non-registered migrants.[16]

This report collectively refers to these three categories as "displaced persons" or "displaced populations."

These barriers are part of a larger challenge Dar es Salaam residents face as the city grows. Dar es Salaam is one of the fastest growing developing cities in the world, its population expanding on average by six per cent per annum in the 10 years from 2002 to 2012. Internal migration from other parts of Tanzania accounts for more than 70 per cent of this increase. Approximately 70 per cent the city's residents in 2012 were living in informal settlements,[18] about half of them surviving on just a dollar a day.[19]

A recent report from the Institute of Health Equity identifies the primary three drivers of urbanisation in Tanzania as:

1 Migration;

2 Natural increase (more births than deaths); and

3 Reclassification (giving urban status to areas not previously designated as urban).[20]

The urbanisation of Tanzania occurs predominantly in Dar es Salaam and these three factors may lead to the capital becoming a megacity of more than 10 million inhabitants by 2025.[21]

Urbanisation is threatening to exacerbate Dar es Salaam's existing challenges, especially for urban displaced in the city. A 2012 Global Research Program report on Spatial Development of Cities has expressed concern that Dar es Salaam's economy and physical environment may not be able to support such rapid urbanisation. Unemployment in Dar es Salaam is extremely high,[22] and the city's service-oriented economy lacks the strong manufacturing or information technology markets that might absorb a burgeoning workforce. Furthermore, life expectancy at birth in Tanzanian urban areas generally is 59.7 years, lower than in rural areas at 62.4 years.[23]

While the displaced in Dar es Salaam face a unique set of challenges, these challenges are set against the backdrop of urbanisation and its potential to exacerbate the challenges of the city's marginalised and vulnerable populations on the whole. Addressing the needs of displaced populations cannot be viewed in complete isolation, particularly as achieving the Right to the City for displaced residents may also mean achieving it for all marginalised and vulnerable residents of Dar es Salaam.

OPPOSITE: Many displaced persons live in densely populated neighbourhoods, side-by-side with local residents. *Samer Saliba/IRC*

Freedom of Movement and the Right to Work for the Urban Displaced of Dar es Salaam

FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

Tanzanian law requires refugees to live in "designated areas" but they may receive permission from the Camp Commander and Regional Commander to exit the camps and then may apply for temporary residence outside of the camps from the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) for the reasons of health, safety, employment, and academic studies. In a 2011 study, Asylum Access found that only 3 per cent of respondents in Dar es Salaam actually met these criteria.

For 'non-permit' refugees the only option for gaining permission to legally reside in Dar es Salaam is by obtaining a "Class A" residence permit, for foreigners interested in business. The fees (1,000–3,000 USD) are beyond the means of most refugees.[24] In 2011, the MHA's Immigration Department allowed refugees and others to obtain a variant of the Class A residence permit, known as a "peasant permit". Valid for two years, and giving the right to live and work outside of refugee camps, these permits cost approximately 4.6–34.6 USD. None of these permits have been issued since 2012, however, and previous permits have expired. Notably, these are not available to individuals who had been officially recognised as asylum-seekers or refugees ('permit-refugees').[25]

RIGHT TO WORK

Under the Non-Citizens Act of 2015, the Director of Refugee Services has the authority to permit urban refugee employment, but this discretion has not been exercised to date due to absence of related administrative regulations which remain at the drafting stage. The Refugee Act of 1998 does not reference access to self-employment but the Policy states that small-scale income-generating activities are allowed only in the camps.

'Non-permit' refugees can apply for a Class B residence permit. At a cost of 2,000 USD, this permit is too expensive for most migrants. Those that have already received official refugee status determination are not able to apply to this permit.

Figure 3:   Population of Dar es Salaam – Historical Figures and Modelled Growth
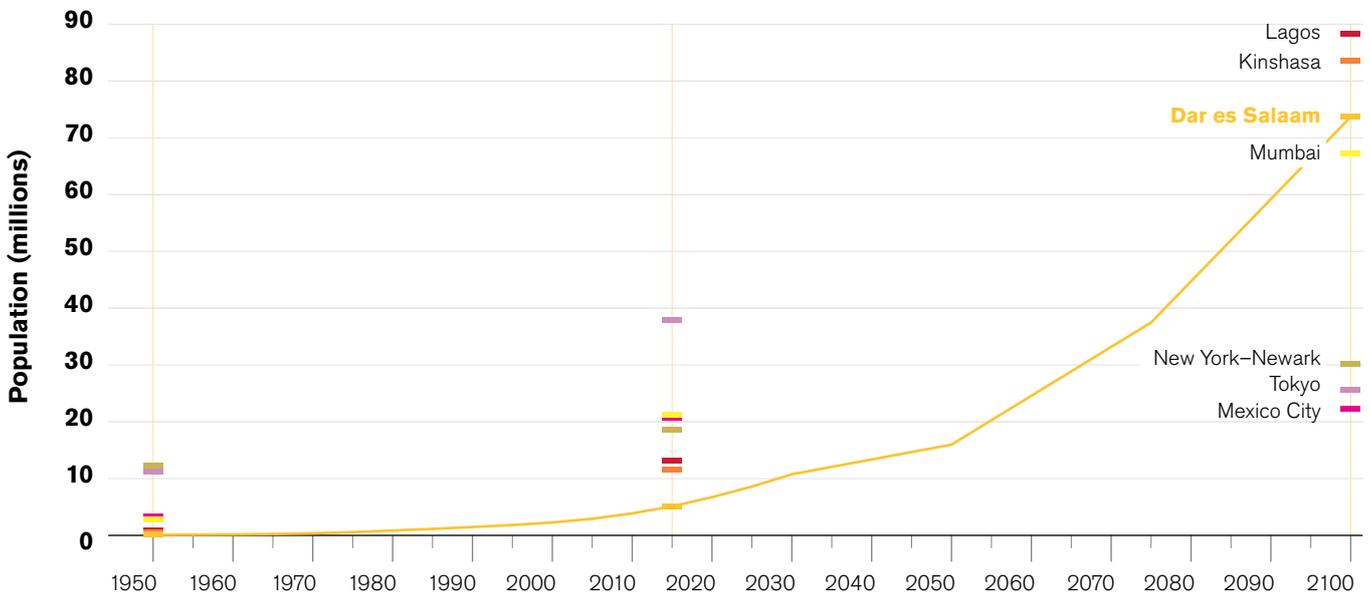
SOURCES: Historical figures and predictions to 2030 from: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2014). World Urbanization Prospects: The 2014 Revision, CD-ROM Edition.   *esa.un.org/unpd/wup/CD-ROM/*

Later projections, based on the same World Urbanization Prospects growth model from: Hoornweg D. & Pope K., Socioeconomic Pathways and Regional Distribution of the World's 101 Largest Cities. Global Cities Institute Working Paper No. 4. January 2014. pp9 –11
media.wix.com/ugd/672989_62cfa13ec4ba47788f78ad660489a2fa.pdf

Figure 4:   Projected Growth of Informal Settlements in Dar es Salaam

Existing informal settlements in 2002

Predicted growth of informal settlements

Major roads

Other land use

10 km
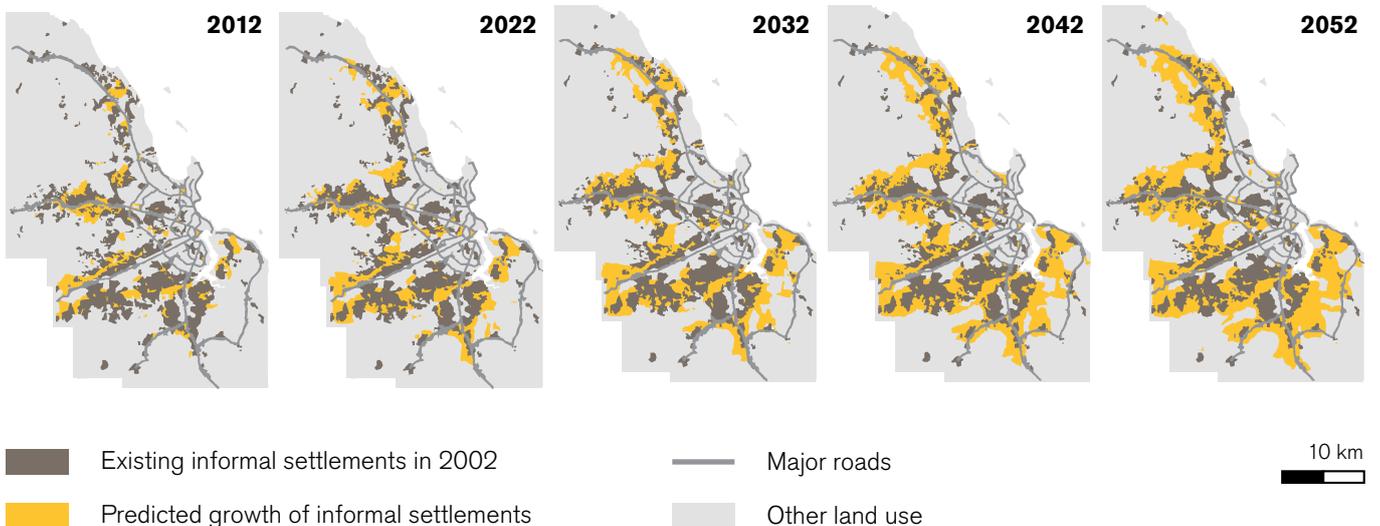
SOURCE: Abebe, F.K., Modelling Informal Settlement Growth in Dar es Salaam (MSc thesis). ITC, University of Twente. 11 March 2011. p67   *www.itc.nl/library/papers_2011/msc/upm/abebe.pdf*

Key Findings

Finding 1:

The majority of displaced living in Dar es Salaam do not have permission to live or work in Tanzania. Those who do so without authorisation risk serious consequences – even deportation – if discovered. Therefore they cannot safely access services from public (national and municipal) actors in Dar es Salaam. Further, their precarious situation makes it difficult for displaced persons to even access reliable information about services and support. As a result, they find it difficult to identify and make use of the limited services that exist.

Without a permit showing they are authorised to live in the city, each time non-registered migrants attempt to access public services they risk detection, with the possible consequences of detention, deportation, financial penalty, or removal to a refugee camp. Without legal work rights, they have no option but to work in the informal economy, where the risks of dangerous and/or exploitative working conditions are greatly increased.

All administrative processes begin at the level of the neighbourhood (*mtaa*) or sub-ward government (see Figure 5 on page 12). Interviews with authorities at the ward level indicated that officials were not aware of – or unwilling to recognise – the presence of displaced persons living in their administrative areas and all said that they had never handled an enquiry or complaint lodged by non-registered migrants or refugees. They indicated that they had received no clear instruction regarding the rights and services to which refugees are entitled. Also, they tended to be of the opinion that refugee-oriented cases were supposed to be dealt with by some other level of government (and they often differed as to which entity in fact had this responsibility).

Non-registered migrants without permission to live in Dar es Salaam are, in principle, able to access public health services. However, any engagement with public officials – even in the health sector – risks revealing their precarious situation. They are sometimes asked to produce documentation (despite this not being strictly necessary)

> " When my neighbours discovered my refugee status, they robbed me and threatened to tell the local police if I complained. I took the case to the ward office and was told that I was not in my own country and to behave myself. "
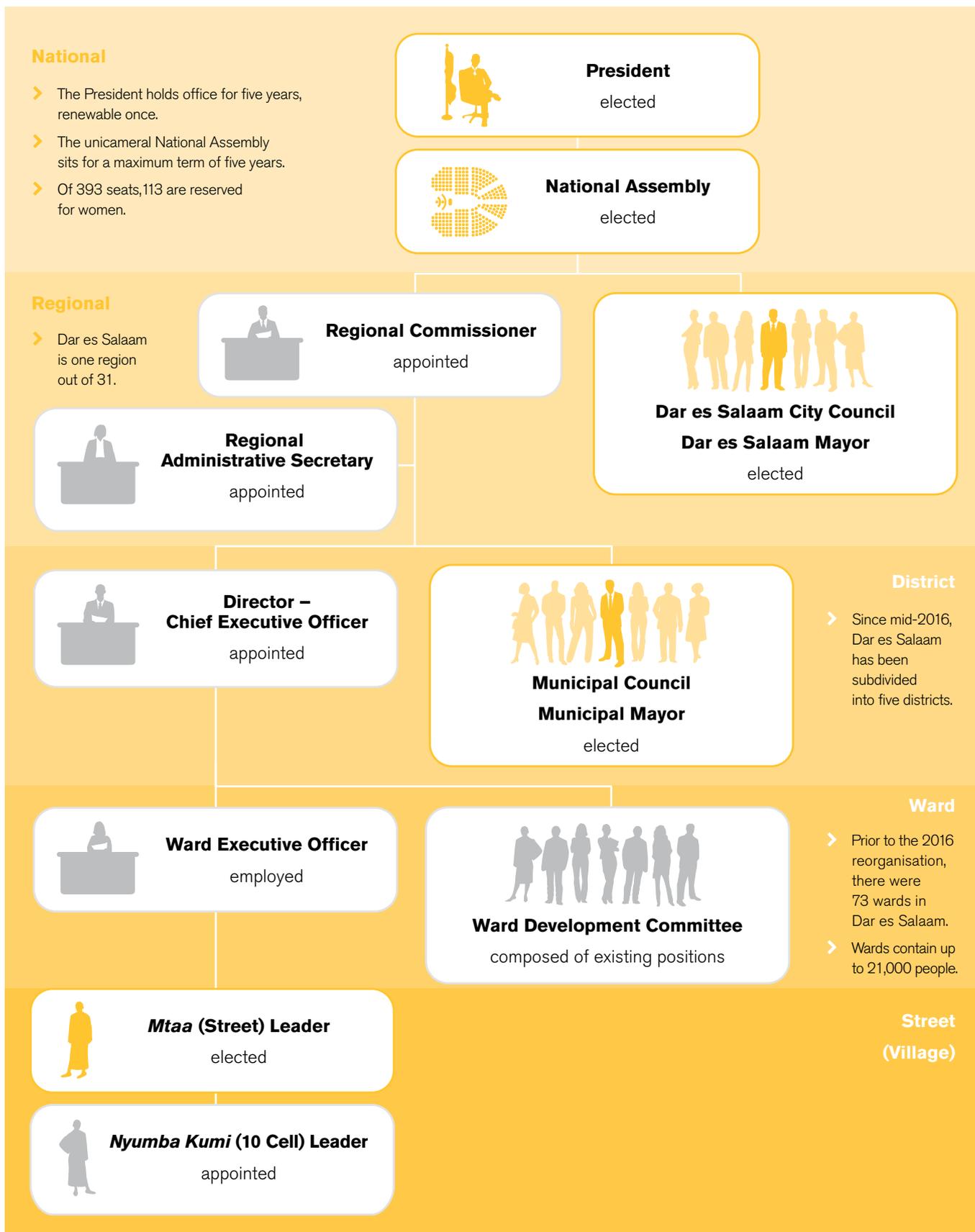>
> A RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

and if they could not, they were often compelled to pay a fee or refused treatment altogether, even in emergency cases. In some instances, paying a fee may not guarantee treatment. The majority of interviewees stated that they preferred to use private healthcare facilities to public ones, because they felt that staff in non-government facilities were less likely to expose them or exploit their situation.

Those found to be living unauthorised in the city are at risk of arrest, being removed to refugee camps, or even deportation. Displaced participants who had lived in Dar es Salaam for several years felt they were at risk of harsher treatment because of the length of their unauthorised stay.

> " I went to my ward office with a series of grievances concerning exploitative practices against me. The ward officer promised to connect me with legal services for refugees but never followed up. "
>
> A RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

Figure 5:   Governance Structures in Tanzania, as applied to Dar es Salaam

National

> The President holds office for five years, renewable once.

> The unicameral National Assembly sits for a maximum term of five years.

> Of 393 seats, 113 are reserved for women.

President
elected

National Assembly
elected

Regional

> Dar es Salaam is one region out of 31.

Regional Commissioner
appointed

Regional Administrative Secretary
appointed

Dar es Salaam City Council
Dar es Salaam Mayor
elected

District

> Since mid-2016, Dar es Salaam has been subdivided into five districts.

Director –
Chief Executive Officer
appointed

Municipal Council
Municipal Mayor
elected

Ward

> Prior to the 2016 reorganisation, there were 73 wards in Dar es Salaam.

> Wards contain up to 21,000 people.

Ward Executive Officer
employed

Ward Development Committee
composed of existing positions

Street
(Village)

Mtaa (Street) Leader
elected

Nyumba Kumi (10 Cell) Leader
appointed

Finding 2:

Negative stereotypes regarding the urban displaced population exacerbates the challenges that are specific to their status, and can result in a hostile, insecure living environment, where discrimination and exploitation are commonplace. This severely impedes many non-registered migrants and refugees' access to education, housing, economic opportunities and healthcare.

Tellingly, the Swahili word for refugees, *wakimbizi*, has a negative connotation. In some parts of Tanzania, displaced populations tend to be collectively characterised as dangerous, unintelligent, or social misfits. While most displaced persons are able to remain hidden in the community, those that are recognised as refugees often face discrimination and mistreatment, making them fearful of the broader Tanzanian population.

Stereotypes and prejudices against refugees and non-registered migrants are not limited to adults. One research participant lamented that her daughter was taunted at school for being Congolese. Other participants said their children often complained of being bullied and demeaned at school, making them feel "like dirt".

Access to housing is another area in which displaced persons face serious discrimination. It is also common for landlords to increase the rent or demand additional payments upon learning that their tenants were refugees or non-registered migrants. Some families have even been evicted. Others have had special restrictions inserted into their lease agreements (for example, prohibitions on running a business from the premises). The majority of displaced persons consulted said they moved several times a year because of exploitative rental practices, eviction, or unfair living restrictions.

Urban displaced populations also experience discrimination and exploitation in business and employment, in both the formal and informal economies. There is a perception of a fierce competition for the few jobs that are available between migrants and Tanzanians.

" I made the mistake of yelling out my son's French name and my neighbours heard me. Ever since, my neighbours have ostracised my family and my son has been beaten up by his former playmates. "

A RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

" My child was in a physical altercation with neighbourhood children and he was blamed as the instigator because he is Congolese. They said, 'Congolese are used to fighting and war.' "

A RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

" Despite paying my rent in advance for one year, my landlord demanded an extra 2,000 shillings (about 1 USD) on a daily basis. If I had refused to make the daily payments, the landlord threatened to report me and my family to the authorities. "

A RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

" I have moved 19 times in one year. "

A RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

Despite a growing body of evidence to the contrary, [26] there is a widely-held view reported in interviews that displaced persons benefited but did not contribute to the local economy. Displaced persons themselves reported that if they did manage to earn a living wage, they often felt the need to hide this fact from their Tanzanian neighbours, particularly if the Tanzanians earned less, for fear of being reported as undocumented (regardless of the accuracy of the claim) to local authorities.

> **I had partnered with a Tanzanian in a business startup selling fabrics, called *vitenge*, on the streets because I was afraid that customers would hear my accent. My business partner sold the initial 40 *vitenge* and refused to give me my share of the revenue. The business failed.**
>
> A RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

> **When my personal carpentry business became popular, people got suspicious of my status and began investigating, causing me to close down.**
>
> A RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

BELOW: A fish market in Dar es Salaam. Many displaced persons in the city hide their earnings from their Tanzanian neighbours, particularly if they earn more than them.
Daniel Msirikale; unaltered except crop, no endorsement implied, CC BY-SA 4.0
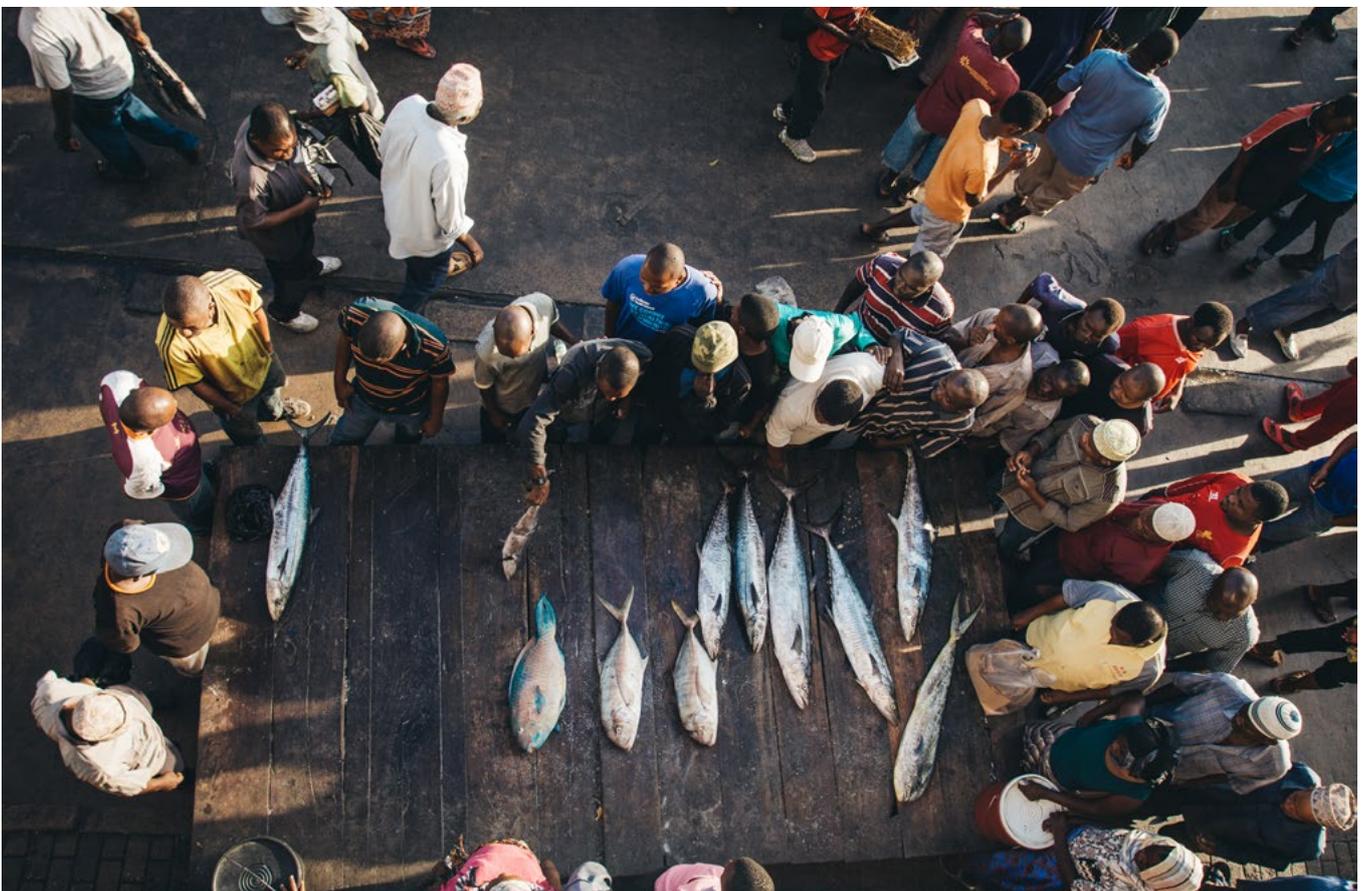
Finding 3:

Given their fear of discrimination and exploitation, the displaced living in Dar es Salaam go to great lengths to hide the fact that they are non-citizens (even when they have authorisation to live in the city). Given the need to respect non-registered migrants and refugees' wish to remain anonymous, service providers struggle to identify potential beneficiaries, assess how best to assist them or even to ensure they are aware of the services available. As a result, the urban displaced of Dar es Salaam are "hidden" and poorly provided for.

Displaced persons are generally unaware of non-governmental organisations in Dar es Salaam whose programmes either specifically targeted or at least endeavoured to ensure safe access to the displaced.[27] Many research participants were unaware of the NGOs working in their communities.

Urban displaced persons' fears of drawing attention to their unauthorised presence in the city hampers their ability to access reliable information about their rights and the services and support available to them. Many reported that they go to great lengths to maintain their anonymity, hiding their foreign accents or going out of their way to befriend Tanzanian neighbours in order to blend in. This tendency to stay "under the radar" also makes it hard for NGOs operating in Dar es Salaam to identify potential beneficiaries.

Given their lack of access to formal service channels, displaced persons form important small-scale support networks. Neighbours and community members can play a crucial role in facilitating access to government services, the banking system, or employment opportunities. This social capital is critical to the lives of the urban displaced, particularly those who lack authorisation to live in Dar es Salaam.

ABOVE RIGHT: Young men on a main street in Dar es Salaam. Stereotypes and prejudices against refugees and non-registered migrants in the city are not limited to adults.
Adam Jones, Ph.D. (Wikimedia); unaltered except crop and colour balance, no endorsement implied, CC BY-SA 3.0

Finding 4:

Urban displaced often join marginalised neighbourhoods, and many of the challenges they face in accessing services such as healthcare and education may also affect the host population. This is particularly the case when it comes to government policies and mechanisms that hinder the ability of displaced populations to access services. These challenges affect all marginalised populations and are often exacerbated by urbanisation.

The unemployment rate of Tanzania is 10.3 per cent and 13.7 per cent among youth.[28] Some reports indicate that unemployment is higher in the country's cities than in its rural areas.[29] This is particularly true in Dar es Salaam's fast growing urban settlements, where unemployment rate is difficult to determine.[30] These are also the areas in which displaced populations live, attempting to blend in among the local population.

Unemployment in marginalised neighbourhoods of the city has serious repercussions. Unable to obtain valid work permits, most displaced persons working in the city have no option other than working in the informal sector. In addition, Tanzanian and refugee women alike said that women with no other means of supporting themselves and their families would potentially engage in sex work.

Moreover, it is in these informal, unplanned neighbourhoods that Dar es Salaam's urbanisation is most strongly felt, with population growth already straining limited public service provision and increasing competition for limited economic opportunities.

Participants described the quality of public education – primary and secondary – as poor, with inadequate facilities, teaching materials and staff. The insufficient number of secondary schools to serve the young population was mentioned in particular. Parents also struggle to meet the cost of uniforms, school supplies and transportation.

> " Children are not receiving the education they should be getting. The level of education in itself is low. In one class, there are about 150 students. It's hard for a teacher to pay attention to all those students. "
>
> A TANZANIAN RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

> " Prostitution is common within the community. Women often resort to prostitution due to financial reasons. "
>
> A TANZANIAN RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

Respondents said they wished they could access tertiary education, too, in order to have better employment opportunities and improve their living conditions.

These are just some of the challenges in accessing public services and economic opportunities mentioned by both host and displaced populations. With displaced populations joining marginalised neighbourhoods of Dar es Salaam that are only growing with urbanisation – and often in an unplanned or informal manner – there is a risk of these challenges growing in severity and affecting a greater number of Dar es Salaam residents, both those who have resided in the city for many years and recent arrivals.

Recommendations

Recommendation 1:

Humanitarians should ensure that urban displaced populations are aware of services available to them both through local service providers and NGOs (local and international).

Mapping existing services (public, private and NGO) is essential. In particular, displaced persons should have clear, reliable information regarding the implications of their migration status or place of residence when accessing services.

Humanitarians should work with local partners (from both the public and private sectors) as well as national-level and international actors to fill service gaps. When displaced persons face barriers to accessing services, humanitarian organisations should advocate to create new or influence existing policies to remove the barriers of access and push for more inclusive service delivery channels on the part of public actors. Lastly, humanitarians should act as a watchdog to ensure that displaced persons don't fall into the cracks of various levels of government service provision.

Recommendation 2:

Humanitarians should have clear guidelines and programmatic approaches to combat discrimination against urban displaced and marginalised members of the host communities, promoting social cohesion between diverse groups.

In order to do so, humanitarians should first gain a full understanding of the drivers of social tension and discrimination, which are often more complex than a simple refugee versus host population divide.

Recommendation 3:

Humanitarians should develop a robust understanding of the vulnerabilities shared by multiple marginalised populations living in a single neighbourhood, area, or socio-economic group and how to best address those vulnerabilities through targeted humanitarian involvement.

This means taking a community- or area-based and multi-sectoral approach to programming, while also engaging in meaningful partnerships with other organisations, including non-traditional humanitarian partners, employing similar approaches.

RIGHT: Flooding is a common issue in informal, marginalised areas of Dar es Salaam, affecting both host and displaced residents of these neighbourhoods. *Aisling O'Loghlen*

References

1 Developing Countries Need to Harness Urbanization to Achieve the MDGs: IMF-World Bank report. (17 April 2013). Retrieved 9 August 2016.

2 Mean Streets: Identifying and Responding to Urban Refugees' Risks of Gender-Based Violence. The Women's Refugee Commission. February 2016.

3 New report: Developing countries host 80% of refugees. The United Nationals Regional Information Centre for Western Europe. June 2011.

4 O'Loghlen, A. (2015). The nexus of displacement and Urbanization: Assessing the asset vulnerability and livelihood strategies of urban refugees in Dar es Salaam.

   Available at: *https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/polopoly_fs/ 1.527799!/file/AislingOLoghlen.pdf*. Accessed 21 December 2016.

5 The New Urban Agenda. The United Nations General Assembly, as adopted at the United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat III) in Quito, Ecuador in October 2016.

   Available at: *https://habitat3.org/the-new-urban-agenda/*. Accessed 21 December 2016.

6 Ibid.

7 Given the range of migration statuses and legal definitions of displaced populations in Dar es Salaam, this report uses "displaced populations" to include:

   › non-registered migrants;
   › 'permit' refugees; and
   › 'non-permit' refugees.

   Definitions of these categories are included on page 8.

8 Research conducted by the Women's Refugee Commission in cities such as Kampala, Johannesburg, and New Delhi.

   For example, see: Chaffin, Josh and Jina Krause-Vilma. "No Place to Go but Up: Urban Refugees in Johannesburg, South Africa." Women's Refugee Commission, 2011.

   The report states: "Forcibly displaced… living in the townships, relative to those in the inner city, are more likely to be unemployed, live in poor housing conditions, have minimal access to services and be more vulnerable to violence."

9 Ruhundwa, Janemary. "No Place Called Home: A Report on Urban Refugees Living in Dar es Salaam." Asylum Access Tanzania, November 2011.

   Available at: *http://asylumaccess.org/wp-content/ uploads/2014/08/No-Place-Called-Home.pdf*. Accessed 25 October 2016.

10 The Government of Tanzania's written commitments are available to relevant stakeholders and may be provided upon request.

11 The term "refugee" is used here is used broadly to refer to both 'permit' refugees and 'non-permit' refugees as defined in Categories of Urban Displaced in Tanzania on page 8.

12 US Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. 2011 Human Rights Report: Tanzania.

   Available at: *http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2011/ af/186250.htm*. Accessed 25 October 2016.

13 Willems, Roos. "Embedding the Refugee Experience: Forced Migration and Social Networks in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania." University of Florida. 2003.

   Available at: *http://etd.fcla.edu/UF/UFE0002281/willems_r.pdf*. Accessed 25 October 2016.

14 UNHCR and Tanganyika Christian Refugee Service (TCRS) recently conducted an internal scoping study that found approximately 5,000 "persons of concern," but it is generally accepted that the number of urban refugees is likely much higher.

15 Based on key informant interviews with UNHCR staff in Tanzania.

16 Ruhundwa, Janemary. "No Place Called Home: A Report on Urban Refugees Living in Dar es Salaam." Asylum Access Tanzania, November 2011.

   Available at: *http://asylumaccess.org/wp-content/ uploads/2014/08/No-Place-Called-Home.pdf*. Accessed 25 October 2016.

17 As indicated by representatives of Tanzania's Department of Refugees and the Government of Tanzania's commitments during the 2016 United Nations General Assembly

18 Collier, P. (n.d.). Transforming Dar es Salaam into a City that Works (Working paper). Department for International Development. Retrieved July 20, 2016.

19 Baker, Judy L. et. al. "Climate Change, Disaster Risk, and the Urban Poor: Cities Building Resilience for a Changing World." The World Bank, 2012.

   Available at: *http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTURBAN DEVELOPMENT/Resources/336387-1306291319853/ Summary.pdf*. Accessed: 27 October 2016.

20 Thomas, Sara et. al. Creating Healthy Cities in Tanzania: using the social determinants of health framework to understand how urbanisation impacts on human development in Tanzanian cities. UCL Institute of Health Equity. November 2016.

   Available at: *https://www.instituteofhealthequity.org/projects/ creating-healthy-cities-in-tanzania*. Accessed 21 December 2016.

21 National Bureau of Statistics and Office of Chief Government Statistician President's Office, 2012 Population and Housing Census: Population Distribution by Administrative Areas. 2013: Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

   Available at: *http://nbs.go.tz/nbs/sensa/PDF/2012%20PHC%20 POPULAR%20VERSION.pdf*. Accessed 21 December 2016.

22 According to 2014 Bureau for Labour statistics it reached 21.5 per cent of the population.

23 Thomas, Sara et. al. Creating Healthy Cities in Tanzania: using the social determinants of health framework to understand how urbanisation impacts on human development in Tanzanian cities. UCL Institute of Health Equity. November 2016.

   Available at: *https://www.instituteofhealthequity.org/projects/ creating-healthy-cities-in-tanzania*. Accessed 21 December 2016.

24 Asylum Access University Periodic Review (2015)

OPPOSITE: Informal areas of Dar es Salaam are growing and are home to many of the city's marginalised residents, including refugees and asylum seekers.   *Aisling O'Loghlen*

References (continued)

25 Ruhundwa, Janemary. "No Place Called Home: A Report on Urban Refugees Living in Dar es Salaam." Asylum Access Tanzania, November 2011.

Available at: *http://asylumaccess.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/No-Place-Called-Home.pdf.* Accessed 25 October 2016.

26 Betts, Alexander, Louise Bloom, Josiah Kaplan, and Naohiko Omata. Refugee Economies: Rethinking Popular Assumptions. Rep. Oxford: Humanitarian Innovation Project, 2014. Print.

27 There are seven organisations working within Dar es Salaam committed to the security of urban refugees. Several other local and international NGOs working in Dar es Salaam offer services that refugees can access without fear of negative consequences.

Asylum Access is one such example. The organisation, among other services, provides legal counsel to urban refugees who have been detained by local authorities.

28 Tanzania Unemployment Rate. 2016. Trading Economics.

Available at: *http://www.tradingeconomics.com/tanzania/youth-unemployment-rate.* Accessed 22 December 2016.

29 See for example: "Youth Unemployment in Tanzania, National Priority." Youth Unemployment Decade. October 2015.

Available at: *http://www.youthemploymentdecade.org/en/repor/youth-unemployment-national-priority-tanzania/.* Accessed 22 December 2016.

30 According to a 2002 World Bank report, up to 75 per cent of people living in Dar es Salaam's informal settlements are unemployed or underemployed.

ABOVE: Job competition and income disparity are sources of social tension between host and displaced populations in Dar es Salaam.

Hasmody76 (Wikimedia); unaltered except crop, no endorsement implied, CC BY-SA 4.0

Bibliography

Betts, Alexander, Louise Bloom,
Josiah Kaplan, and Naohiko Omata.
Refugee Economies: Rethinking Popular Assumptions.
Rep. Oxford: Humanitarian Innovation Project, 2014. Print.

Collier, P. (n.d.).
Transforming Dar es Salaam into a City that Works
(Working paper).
Department for International Development.

Retrieved 20 July 2016.

Developing Countries Need to Harness Urbanization
to Achieve the MDGs: IMF-World Bank report.
(April 17 2013).

Available at: *http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2013/04/17/developing-countries-need-to-harness-urbanization-to-achieve-mdgs-imf-world-bank-report.*
Accessed 9 August 2016.

O'Loghlen, A. (2015).
The nexus of displacement and Urbanization:
Assessing the asset vulnerability and livelihood
strategies of urban refugees in Dar es Salaam.
Edinburgh: Institute for Social Policy, Housing,
Environment and Real Estate (I-SPHERE).

Ruhundwa, Janemary.
"No Place Called Home:
A Report on Urban Refugees Living in Dar es Salaam."
Asylum Access Tanzania, November 2011.

Available at: *http://asylumaccess.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/No-Place-Called-Home.pdf.*
Accessed 25 October 2016.

Thomas, Sara et al.
Creating Healthy Cities in Tanzania: using the
social determinants of health framework to
understand how urbanisation impacts on
human development in Tanzanian cities.
UCL Institute of Health Equity. November 2016.

Available at: *https://www.instituteofhealthequity.org/projects/creating-healthy-cities-in-tanzania.*
Accessed 21 December 2016.

Annex: Research Methodology

Methodology

The methodology chosen for this knowledge product entailed two desk reviews followed by three rounds of field research in Dar es Salaam.

The desk-based research included an analysis of current refugee policy in Tanzania, as well as existing research on urban displaced residing in Dar es Salaam, and an analysis of social, economic and political challenges facing displaced persons in Dar es Salaam.

In March of 2016, a team of graduate research consultants spent a week conducting a first round of primary data collection in Dar es Salaam, focusing on neighbourhoods or wards that were identified as having significant and relatively dense refugee populations by refugee-service organisations and refugee community leaders.

Interviews and focus group discussions with displaced persons, Tanzanian citizens, and local government officials were carried out exclusively within the two targeted wards. Further consultations with NGOs, CSOs, and the national government include interviewees from a broader range of locations within Dar es Salaam.

In April 2016, three IRC staff conducted a second round of data collection in the Mbagala and Buguruni wards of Dar es Salaam, again utilising focus group discussions and one-on-one interviews, with a mix of individuals who had been involved with the first round and a number of additional informants.

The third round of data collection occurred as part of a pilot for the IRC's *Urban Context Analysis Toolkit* in Dar es Salaam. The context analysis aimed support the country office to understand the context as a means to inform programme design. The aim of the context analysis was to inform IRC Tanzania on the risks and opportunities for work in the city be investigating the underlying political, economic, social and service delivery systems. The context analysis data collection for the context analysis took place between September and October 2016.

The same primary researchers were involved in all three rounds of data collection.

Limitations

Sample Size and Composition

Displaced respondents numbered approximately 200 of the estimated tens of thousands of displaced residing in Dar es Salaam. While the responses of such a small proportion of an overall population cannot safely be generalised, they are nonetheless indicative of the existence of significant problems – particularly in light of the high degree of consensus around certain issues, such as experiences of discrimination and exploitation.

Data Analysis

Interview Participants	Number
Displaced residents *Focus group discussions*	193
Tanzanian citizens *Focus group discussions*	149
Local government *Key informant interviews*	29
National government *Key informant interviews*	1
International NGOs *Key informant interviews*	5
National NGOs and civil society organisations *Key informant interviews*	5

OPPOSITE: A woman selling fruit in Dar es Salaam.
Maryam Mgonja (Wikimedia); unaltered except crop and colour balance, no endorsement implied, CC BY-SA 4.0

Rescue-uk.org   **Gov.uk/dfid**

GLOBAL ALLIANCE FOR URBAN CRISES

Acknowledgements

The International Rescue Committee (IRC) responds to the world's worst humanitarian crises and helps people to survive and rebuild their lives. Founded in 1933 at the request of Albert Einstein, the IRC offers life-saving care and life-changing assistance to refugees forced to flee from war, persecution or natural disaster. At work today in over 40 countries and 22 cities, we restore safety, dignity and hope to millions who are uprooted and struggling to endure. The IRC leads the way from harm to home.

New York

International Rescue Committee
122 East 42nd Street
New York, NY 10168-1289
USA

Washington, DC

International Rescue Committee
1730 M Street, NW
Suite 505
Washington, DC 20036
USA

London

International Rescue Committee–UK
3 Bloomsbury Place
London WC1A 2QL
United Kingdom

Brussels

International Rescue Committee–Belgium
Place de la Vieille
Halle aux Blés 16
Oud Korenhuis 16
1000 Brussels
Belgium

Geneva

International Rescue Committee
7, rue J.-A Gautier
CH-1201
Geneva
Switzerland

Bangkok

International Rescue Committee
888/210–212 Mahatun
Plaza Bldg., 2nd Floor
Ploenchit Road
Lumpini, Pathumwan
Bangkok 10330
Thailand

Nairobi

International Rescue Committee
IKM Place
5th Ngong Avenue
Upper Hill
Nairobi
Kenya

Join the conversation

f Facebook.com/ircuk

🐦 @IRCuk

f Facebook.com/
InternationalRescueCommittee

🐦 @theIRC

📷 Instagram.com/theIRC

From Harm to Home | Rescue-uk.org | Rescue.org