Rural-Urban Migration in Babati District, Tanzania

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Ida Karlsson
Photography of Babati on front page is photographed by the author.
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1. INTRODUCTION

In a world where people are inclined to move to urban areas and where 49 percent of the world population lived in urban areas in 2005, the urban population is expected to be 60 percent of the global population in the year 2030. The majority of the increase of urban residents is anticipated to occur in urban areas of less developed regions.\(^1\) Although studies in developing countries frequently show that livelihood opportunities in these urban areas are far from many, the urban population increases to grow. People who come to the urban area with hope of advanced life opportunities end up having a hard time finding somewhere to live. Often, rural-urban migrants have to settle down in shantytowns outside the actual city.\(^2\) This results in the fact that there are many people living with bad surroundings without any type of security, fresh water, waste systems or health services.\(^3\) Nevertheless, it is expected that people will continue to move to urban areas in developing countries, which might be because they have few other options.

To understand the overall rural-urban migration process it is important to look at in which context the migration occurs and what kind of meaning migrants give to the rural and to the urban lifestyle. In this essay the main focus will be placed on the migrant’s views, experiences and attitudes about their own migration process.

1.1. Problem and aim of the study

The purpose with this study is to reach an overall understanding of the rural-urban migration process in Babati in north-central Tanzania by interviewing rural-urban migrants. The focus will be on women and men in the ages 16 to 24. In order to understand the whole process of rural-urban migration, the migration histories will be centered in this essay. It is important to understand how the migrants see and understand rural and urban life, and what kind of meaning they give to these. In the search to understand the process, I will therefore look at what people thought about and how they imagined urban life while living in the rural area, how they experienced life in the rural area and for which reasons they decided to leave the rural area. In order to see if the women’s and men’s experiences are alike or if they differ in any substantial way I will make a comparison between them. This leads to my main research questions:

**What kind of images and attitudes do young rural-urban migrants, in the ages 16 to 24, have about the rural way of living and the urban life? Do the women’s attitudes and images differ from the men’s?**

Furthermore, I want to find out if the images and attitudes that the women and men had about the urban area was realized, once they had settled in the city. Therefore I will examine if the urban area lived up to the migrants expectations and if the urban life was liked they had hoped. This leads to the following question:

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To what extent were the expectations about urban life realized once the young rural-urban migrants had settled in the urban area?

To obtain the overall picture of the migration process I will briefly explore the push and pull factors of the migration. This leads to my final research question:

What are the factors and motives behind the rural-urban migration to Babati? Which are the factors that push young women and young men away from rural areas and which are the factors that pull them to the urban area of Babati?

1.2. Methods and materials

To give a background to the questions examined in this essay the essay will begin with a brief history of migration movements in Tanzania.

To obtain a theoretical background to migration processes I have looked at classical migration theories and what has been written about migration in Tanzania. I make a brief introduction of the classical theories that I consider to be relevant in this study. Thereafter, I make a discussion about what has been written about migration in Tanzania. The information obtained from the literature study will serve as a base in the discussion of the results from the field study.

In order to describe the in-migration to Babati and the size of the urban population, it has been relevant to look at statistics from the statistical bureau of the United Republic of Tanzania. I have looked at the most recent census that was made in 2002.

When I arrived at the field area I got in touch with my local contact, Ally Msuya who helped me to get in contact with an interpreter. The interpreter was a local teacher called Elias Iyo without whom this work would not have been possible to carry out because of my lack of knowledge in the Swahili language. Elias, who had contact with many young people in Babati, helped me to get in touch with a substantial number of informants, for which I will be forever grateful for.

Though, I was not familiar with Babati and the area surrounding the town I decided to get familiar with the town by walking around getting guidance from my local contact’s son Saidi Msuya.

The research method used in the field was interviews with rural-urban migrants and potential urban migrants. Before starting the interviews I decided to introduce myself to the town office, the immigration office and the District Council. The town office was pleased that I would do a field study about rural-urban migration to Babati and offered their assistance if I would come to need it.

Since this is a study of the overall understanding of the rural-urban migration process my main informants needed to have migrated from a rural area to the urban area of Babati. And because this is a study of the migration among young people the migrants had to be between the ages 16 to 24.

Since the informants had to encompass the previous written criteria’s I got help from my interpreter to get in contact with some young people who fulfilled these. To find further informants I intended to use the method which Alan Bryman call chain-selections\(^4\), that is, I

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tried to find new informants from the persons that I had interviewed. In most cases it was difficult to find new informants this way thus there were very few of the informants who knew other individuals that had moved to Babati. However my interpreter Elias Iyo had many contacts with young people hence he was a local teacher, therefore he came to play an important role in the search for new informants. As I have mentioned, I was able to get in touch with some informants using the chain-selection method although these informants is mainly the informants that are seen as potential migrants. The rural informants have been found through the interviews with the rural-urban migrants.

Well in contact with rural-urban migrants I conducted semi structured qualitative interviews with the informants. The purpose was to get as detailed answers as possible about the informants’ migration history. To acquire the information needed to answer the research questions in this essay I had an interview guide with the questions relevant for the specific purpose of this essay.\(^5\)

The collection of the material was performed mainly in workplaces but also in restaurants, homes and public places. The young people that I met did various things in the town and the reasons for why they moved to Babati vary from one individual to the next.

After conducting the interviews with the rural-urban migrants I decided to visit some villages and interview some young people, also in the ages 16 to 24, that were living in the rural area. I did this because I wanted more information about how life was in the rural area.

1.3. Definitions and demarcations

This study will investigate why women and men, in the ages 16 to 24, move from rural areas to the urban area Babati. I directed my study at this age group because migration usually occurs in the age group 14 to 25.\(^6\) In the late teens to the mid twenties people seem more likely to migrate thereafter the likelihood to migrate decreases as the individual gets older.\(^7\) Furthermore, the women and men could be married, unmarried, single, and part of a household or family but also people that have separated from their family. The criterion that all rural-urban migrants have in common is that they have moved from a rural area to the urban area of Babati.

The informants in the villages were also in the age group 16 to 24 due to the criteria’s written above.

The limitation of this field study has been to Babati town and its surroundings, in north-central Tanzania (see map 1, Babati district, page 7).

1.4. Critique of sources
As all material based on material from interviews made using an interpreter there is always a risk that some information is lost in the translation.

The most recent census made in Babati district is from 2002. Seeing as the census was undertaken during the period of the regional restructuring, when alterations of the town boundaries was made and Babati became the regional headquarters, it gives without doubt a misleading indication of the current size of the urban population. It is not possible to say exactly how many people that are now living in Babati town although there are indications that the population is substantially higher than what was accounted for in the 2002 census.

2. HISTORY OF MIGRATION MOVEMENT IN TANZANIA

Most people in Tanzania originate from the linguistic group called Bantu. In the years 200-100 BC people emigrated from the region which is now Ethiopia and settled in the area which today is called Tanzania. There is also evidence that nearly 2000 years ago there was a large scale of immigrants, coming from Nigeria and Cameroon, who settled in the area.\(^8\)

Tanzania traded with the Middle East and many Asian countries in the beginning of the century which resulted in two significant streams of migrants coming from the Middle East in 700 AD and from India and other Asian countries in 900 AD.\(^9\)

In the nineteenth century Tanzania became a German colony. The colonial administration introduced the tax system in the country which resulted in that many people had to move to areas where they could find wage employment, to be able to pay the taxes. People had to move to plantations or find work building railways or look for other waged employment.\(^10\) The migration could take place between one rural area and another rural area or it could be between rural and urban areas.\(^11\)

After world war one Tanzania became a British colony.\(^12\) During the colonial era men tended to migrate alone while the women remained on the family farm. Even though it might have been the women that were cultivating the land and taking care of the animals while the men were working somewhere else, some women were not entitled to inherit the land when their husband passed away. This resulted in that some women moved to the town, and since it was difficult to get waged employment, prostitution became the only means to earn money for some women.\(^13\)

From the 1950’s and forward urban ward migration increased among women. Richard Sabot explains this as being a consequence of husbands having started to bring their wives to town. However the increase of female migrants was also a result of women becoming more independent and wanted to move to town because of economic opportunities.\(^14\) Monica Böök also states that rural-urban migration increased among women during this period. Böök explains that many women moved to town to unite with their husbands or relatives.\(^15\) Hence, there was a difference between the motives for urban migration among men and women.

Tanzania became independent in 1961 and thereafter the government abolished the colonial laws and regulations that had restricted the migration of Africans into the urban areas. The development in Tanzania during the 1960’s and the 1970’s made the government establish a plan of decentralization of the urban areas. President Nyerere stated that all the

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people coming to the towns, especially to Dar es Salaam, did not help the rural population. The development in the towns was dependent on the development in the rural areas though it was the farmers that paid for the development of facilities in the towns. Even though it was the rural population that paid for development of facilities in town it was rarely they who benefited from the facilities that were constructed in the towns.\textsuperscript{16}

After the Arusha Declaration in 1967 President Nyerere decided that people should move to communal villages called Ujamaa villages.\textsuperscript{17} The goal was that every peasant should live in an Ujamaa village. However there were many people that didn’t move to the Ujamaa villages so in 1973, in an operation called Operation Vijiji, peasants were forced to move to the Ujamaa villages.\textsuperscript{18} Approximately 13 million people, 80 percent of the population, had been relocated to about 7684 villages when the procedure came to its end.\textsuperscript{19}

From 1967 to 2002 the population of Tanzania tripled.\textsuperscript{20} In 1967 Tanzania had 12,313,469 inhabitants and in 2002 the population had reached the number of 34,569,232 inhabitants. The projected population in Tanzania for the year 2006 is 38,670,000 inhabitants.\textsuperscript{21}

Many people in Tanzania move to the coastal region to seek work and the shanty town around Dar es Salaam continues to grow although Tanzania is one of the least urbanized countries in Africa.\textsuperscript{22}

3. URBAN WARD MIGRATION

Many theories take a starting point in Ravenstein’s laws of migration that was written during the 1880’s. One of the most famous theories that have been written following Ravenstein’s laws is the theory of push and pull factors by Everett Lee, which will follow later on in this chapter. First follows a brief review of Ravenstein’s laws.

Michael Todaro\textsuperscript{23} have interpreted and summarized Ravenstein’s laws down to six laws, these being the following six which are complimented with Jay Weinstein and Vijayan Pillai writings on Ravenstein.\textsuperscript{24} In the first law Ravenstein argues that acts of migration decreases as the distance increases. He also argues that people who move over a long distance tend to move to a commercial or industrial centre. In the second law, the movement of migrants often occurs like chain-migration, first the migrant move from the rural area to the nearest town and then from the town to a larger town. In the third law, migration always occurs in both

directions that is a stream of migrants in one direction will always have a stream of migrants in the opposite direction. It is rare that migration is unilateral. In the fourth law, Ravenstein argues that the rural population is more eager to move than the genuine urban population. And in the fifth law, migration increases because of technological change and due to the movements made by migrants over time. The last law sees to economic motives to migration. The most important one being the motive that man moves because he wants to have an enhanced material lifestyle.

According to Everett Lee, who wrote the migration theory of push and pull factors, does “every act of migration involves an origin, a destination, and an intervening set of obstacles”\(^{25}\). Lee divides the factors of migration into four different groups, the first group involves the factors that are linked to the area of origin and the second group links factors to the area of destination, the third and the fourth group treats intervening factors and personal factors. Lee explains that every one of the four groups has numerous factors that intervene with people’s choice to stay or to leave the area. The groups involve factors that tend to pull people towards one area and factors that push them away from another area. Lee points out that the factors are different for every migrant and it is difficult to understand every factor though the factors tend to be inexact. The factors associated with the four groups are different because of the judgments the migrants have about the origin area therefore the factors are better defined when the decision to migrate have been thoroughly reconsidered. The images of the area of destination are usually inexact because there is usually a lack of knowledge of the area of destination. Furthermore, there are factors that cannot be discovered until living there. Lee explains that a person’s own individual emotions, knowledge and intelligence can affect the outcome of a decision to migrate or not. Some people need more convincing reasons to migrate than others. Lee also explains that migration can occur because of different life cycle stages for example, employment opportunities, retirement and marriage.\(^{26}\)

The geographer Michael Todaro looks at what the migrant expects out of a move from a rural area to an urban area. In his theory the migrants are pushed or/and pulled by his/her expectations about the area of residence and the area of destination. The migrant is anticipated to maximize his/her expectations. Furthermore there are three factors that affect the outcome and these are the following: the first is that the current income is compared with the expected income at the destination. The second factor weights the economic and psychological cost of the migration which can be decreased with social networks and kinship ties in town. The third factor is the probability of employment in the future for the migrant. Also in the third factor the migrants’ social network and kinship ties in town can play an important role, though these links can provide vital information of job opportunities.\(^{27}\)

Gordon de Jong and Fawcett also use the migrants’ expectations to determine the likelihood for migration. Their model is called the value expectancy model and in this model it is the migrants’ “objective assessments and subjective values”\(^{28}\) that makes the decision of


\(^{28}\) Ibid.
the expectancy to achieve what the migrant desires at the area of origin and the area of destination.  

An explanation that is given for rural-urban migration by Paul Knox and Linda McCarthy is that rural residents that have lost their income move to urban areas for the search of a better existence. The migrant wishes to find employment and to get access to modern infrastructure and other services that are not to be found in the rural area. These desires, according to Knox and McCarthy, are not drawn from a rational knowledge about employment opportunities or other opportunities, instead they are drawn from desperation and hope.

John Anarfi explains that, until the 1970’s female migration was in general not observed such as male migration. Mariken Vaa, who writes about female migration in Bamako, Mali, argues that there is a more complex picture concerning female migration than that women move short distances and that they move because of marriage such as Monica Böök explained the female migration in Tanzania during the 1950’s and forward. According to Mariken Vaa there are in fact many women who migrate on their own to find a job, just like men do, although the decision to migrate can be made by someone else than the woman herself. For example it might have been the woman’s family that decided that she should move.

3.1. Theories of migration in Tanzania

According to Joe Lugalla, who writes about urbanization, urban poverty and survival politics in Tanzania, the primary motives for migration in developing countries are raised from the discontent of an unfulfilled existence where migration often takes place depending on economic factors, for example the search for waged employment, education and health services. Although, Lugalla explains that the first move often seem to be dependent on other factors such as the search for education and work training and on family ties. Lugalla writes that many rural inhabitants imagines the city as a place where people get a high income and better living standards and that these imagined factors motivates people to migrate.

Lugalla, who writes about the urbanization process in Tanzania, argues that urban growth is a result of the expansion of the health care system. When the health system is expanded and more people get access to medical service the mortality rate decrease, especially among newborns and the birth rate increases. People’s health also depends on the access to clean water and nutrition. When access to medical services, clean water and nutrition is unequally spread among people it will indulge some to migrate to areas where they can get access to these. Lugalla points out the importance of the relocation of city boundaries, though this act leads to the incorporation of rural areas, which can raise the population substantially if the geographical border stretches beyond several villages outside the former city area.

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29 Ibid.
Adolfo Mascarenhas describes migration in Tanzania as being based on economic and social factors and on individual decisions. The main theory of free migration, Mascarenhas explains, is people’s differential opportunities, which either push or pull them to urban areas, or to rural areas. Wage employment, business opportunities, education and health service can serve as pull factors. In addition to this, Mascarenhas, adds an historical perspective, explaining migration as dependent on historical factors such as colonialism and rural development. Mascarenhas also take political activities in consideration as motives which can generate migration processes.\(^{35}\)

Margaretha von Troil, describes migration to urban areas as a search for better livelihood standard and a chance to obtain higher education.\(^{36}\) She explains that for many young people the life in the rural area, working on the family plot without getting paid, is not as appealing as paid employment in the urban area.\(^{37}\) Not only does the city lure with compensations for work, the life in the city also include proximity to modern artifacts and a vivacity which cannot be found in the village.\(^{38}\)

Mogens Holms, as Margaretha von Troil, sees the probability for a higher quality of life as a motive for migration.\(^{39}\) Holms findings shows that people tend to migrate because of business, waged labor, to get access to family or friends or to get access to health services, and because of transport facilities, but also to farm.\(^{40}\) Holms explain that poor people tend to stay in the village because they do not have sufficient capital or networks in the urban area to be able to move there.\(^{41}\) That poor people should migrate less than other is also something that Reidar Oderth argues in his writings about human migration (not specific for Tanzania). Oderth also argues that people without education or with least education rarely move.\(^{42}\)

According to Anke van Vuuren, who has written about female-headed households and their survival strategies in Tanzania, many young people move because they want secondary education or some other kind of training. The main reason for why young women or women in general migrate, Vuuren argues, is because they get married and for that reason they move to unite with their husbands. Continually, Vuuren explains that labor migration is the second most important reason that makes people migrate. Another motive for why young people migrate is when a separation occurs between the parents hence the children may have to move with the mother or the father.\(^{43}\)


\(^{38}\) Von Troil, Margaretha (1992) p. 228-229.


\(^{40}\) Holms, Mogens (1992) p. 244.


To attract young people to the rural area Akin Mabogunje states in his work about the development process that there is a need for raising the life quality in the rural area. Mabogunje writes that it is also important that the farmers’ tries to enhance the production of crops however when people choose to leave the rural area a manpower shortage is developed.44

Once the rural-urban migrants come to the city they are often accommodated in homes which belong to family members, relatives or people with kinship or ethnic ties.45 Monica Böök, who writes about women in Tanzania, explains that most women who move to town have some family or other relatives or friends in town with whom they can find accommodation.46 For this reason it is important for the rural family to maintain connections with people who migrates from the village.

Since children and parents are sometimes left behind in the village with other family it is important to keep the connection between the rural area and the urban area, especially for the women who has left their children in the rural area.47

Furthermore, the contact between the rural area and the urban area is maintained due to the fact that many times the urban migrant has to work to support members of the family, relatives or others who has been left behind in the village. Hence, urban work can be seen as a complementary work to farming (as the income from farming can be low).48 Another reason why farming could be seen as complementary work is because it is hard to get a job due to the competition for work between migrants.49 To survive, the migrants need to grow their own crops. Rose Shayo argues that there is an increased tension in the urban area because rural migrants that have settled in the city try to resolve their lack of capital means by acting as they did while living in the rural area, that is cultivating their own crops and having animals. Though this occurs in the urban area it can have consequences on the urban environment.50

4. FIELD AREA – BABATI TOWN

4.1. The region, the district and the population

Babati district is located in the Manyara region in north-central Tanzania. In 2002 the Manyara region was created by the President Benjamin Mkapa and Babati town was appointed to be the regional headquarters. The district previously belonged to the Arusha region.51

According to the national census from 2002, the population in Manyara region was 1,040,461 and in Babati district there were 303,013 inhabitants.52 Of this amount there were

46 Böök, Monica (1987) p. 36.
51 Ndembwike, John (2006) p. 34.
31,077 urban inhabitants in Babati town.\textsuperscript{53} Since the census is from 2002, around the period of the regional restructuring, there is no exact number of the current size of the urban population in Babati town although there are indications that the population is substantially higher. One indication of urban growth was given by the district commissioner of Babati 2003, Khadija Nyembo, who in an interview with \textit{Arusha Times} in 2003, explained that since Babati town was appointed the regional headquarters there was an increase of migrants which was revealed as people wanted to purchase land and many new buildings, especially for business, were constructed. Khadija Nyembo stated that there had been a rapid urban growth and a population increase since Babati became the regional headquarters.\textsuperscript{54} One other indication for a substantial urban growth has been the allocation of the town boundaries that made rural villages in the periphery of Babati town included as urban parts of the town.\textsuperscript{55} Sources in the field estimate the current urban population in Babati town to 90000-100000 inhabitants.\textsuperscript{56}

There are many ethnic groups in the area and there are people who speak Bantu, Cushitic, Nilotic and Khosian. The population comes from various ethnic groups for example; Iraqw, Burunge, Maasai, Barabaig, Mbugwe, Chagga and Sandawe, however there are more ethnic groups living in the area. It is also possible to find Somalians and Asians in the area though they are few.\textsuperscript{57}

\section*{4.2. Livelihood strategies}

Babati town is an important point for departing and arriving. Buses, cars and lorries pass Babati on the way to Arusha, Dodoma or to west Tanzania.\textsuperscript{58} At the local bus stand you see busses and taxis frequently passing by. The market at the bus stand seems to be full of activity from early morning until daybreak. Buses that arrive get swamped by small dealers that try to sell small bites to the passengers on the crowded buses. All around the bus stand there are small shops and small restaurants where merchants try to earn enough to sustain their daily livelihood.

Even though the bus stand, the small shops built around it and the nearby grocery market seems busy all day it seems that the main source for a sustainable livelihood is farming and animal husbandry. In 2003 the district commissioner stated that the main source of income came from agriculture, that is farming and animal products. The crops grown are both food and cash crops.\textsuperscript{59}

The lake in the area, Lake Babati, benefits many local people though there are both fishermen and irrigation farming in the area. Babati also gain from tourism. In the northern

\textsuperscript{54} Ndembwike, John (2006) p. 34-36.
\textsuperscript{55} Personal communication. Discussions with officials working with development questions in Babati.
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{58} Mascarenhas, Adolfo (1996) p. 79.
\textsuperscript{59} Ndembwike, John (2006) p. 34.
part of the district Lake Manyara National park stretches into the district. The Tarangire National park is also found in the district (see map 1, page 7).  

5. MIGRATION FROM RURAL AREAS TO BABATI

Migration is a process which can be done by one individual or by a group of people. The migration can be a free process but also a forced one. The goal of the migration can be individualistic but it can also be a process in which a group of people, at the place of origin or at the destination, gain from the person who migrates.  

To understand why the women and men move from the rural area to Babati I got together with young people and interviewed them about their migration history. In this chapter follows a number of migration histories. This is what the migrants told me.

5.1. Change of residence

Migration seems to be one way for young people to get away from the traditional work in the village and a chance to obtain further education. My first informant was Marcel Boay who told me about his struggle to obtain further education. This is what he told me about his migration experience when I met him in the small shop where he worked.  

Marcel Boay is 20 years old and he grew up in the village Sigino, not far from Babati. In the village he lived with his aunt even though his parents lived in the village too. Marcel explains that before coming to Babati he went to primary school in the village and after school he helped his parents on their farm and took care of the animals. He explains that life in the village was tough, because there was neither running water nor electricity, and there was no secondary school and people lived in shanty houses. When he lived in the village he thought that life in a town would be very different from life in the village because in the town there were good social services, water supply and good schools with school materials. Marcel thinks that most young people are attracted to town and that no one wants to stay in the village.

Since there was no secondary school in the village his teacher gave him application forms for secondary school and he was accepted at a secondary school in Babati. It was too far to walk to school every day hence at the age of fifteen Marcel left the village and moved to the town. His parents supported his decision and they were happy for him.

When Marcel arrived in the town he had no place to stay. He didn’t have any relatives in the town with whom he could stay therefore he had to find a room to rent. He explains that the town was like he had expected it to be, with social services, water supply and good schools. His first year at school was paid by his relatives, but the second year they didn’t have the money to pay the school fee. Then Marcel was forced to make an arrangement with the school so that he could bring maize as payment. Marcel was then given his share of land in the village to grow his own maize which he could bring to the school as payment. During the period when he went to school he didn’t have any job. When Marcel finished secondary

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63 Boay, Marcel (2008-02-08) Works in a small shop.
school in October 2007 he had been promised a job in a shop that his relatives were going to
open in January 2008. While he waited for the job to open he went to the village and helped
his parents with cultivation. He now works in the shop and his relatives support him and
approximately two times a month he visits the village. At the present time he is waiting for
the result of the high school enrolment.64

As Marcel, my informant Beatrice Thomas65 also wanted to move to Babati to get
secondary education. Beatrice’s teacher advised her to apply to go to secondary school. When
she got accepted she decided to come to Babati. Beatrice thinks that young people likes to live
in the town because there are many ways to earn money there since in the village you cannot
earn money on anything other than farming and animals. A third informant called Neewa
Aloyce also came to Babati in hope to get secondary education. Neewa’s history tells about a
similar background as Marcel’s but with a rather different outcome.

In 1998, 22 year old Neewa Aloyce66 came to Babati to stay at her aunt’s house. Neewa
was 12 years old at that time and it was her parents that arranged her stay at the aunt’s house.
When she was living in the village she used to help her family with cultivation and taking care
of animals.

Neewa explains that she wanted to go to a city, like Dar es Salaam, since she wanted to go
to secondary school. Her parents approved and they sent her to her aunt in Babati. However,
her aunt and her family couldn’t afford to pay the school fees and therefore she wasn’t able to
enroll in secondary school. Neewa explains that the only choice she had was to get some kind
of other training. She managed to get computer training for six months and after the training
she found it easy to get a job.

Neewa thinks that everything with the town is positive. Every month she visits her village
and sometimes she goes there to help her parents to cultivate the land and occasionally she
pays someone to cultivate the land. She brings crops back to town which she can eat and sell.

She remembers that she imagined the town to be big when she was a little girl but this was
something she realized not to be true when she grew older. Nowadays she has no thought
about moving back to the village however she says that she would like to go to another town,
for example Moshi. The thought she had when she was younger, about going to
Dar es Salaam, has now disappeared. Neewa believes that young people thinks that life in the
town is easier than life in the village and that is why they come to the town.

Not everyone find the town as appealing as Neewa. Now and then there are people who
find the urban area as an unlikable place. As shown in Marcels’ history the rural-urban
migration can involve the whole family although the decision to migrate was taken by Marcel
himself. But in some cases the decision to migrate can be made by others than the individual
who is migrating.67 It can be parents, relatives or the migrants’ household that decides who
will move. It can be a decision made by the ethnic group or by the village.68 It can also be a
decision made by the government.

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64 Boay, Marcel (2008-02-08)
65 Thomas, Beatrice (2008-02-08) Works in a church.
68 Holms, Mogens (1992) p. 244.
Augustino Gwandu\textsuperscript{69} also came to Babati because of work. But it was not his decision to come though, the government decided that he would be placed in Babati. For Pascalina Francis\textsuperscript{70} it was her mother that decided that she should move to the town and work. The only reason for coming to town was to work and earn money for her family. Pascalin\textquotesingle s history was similar to my informant Yoannas. This is what Yoanna told me about her migration experience when I met her in the small shop where she works.

Yoanna Sumaye\textsuperscript{71} came to Babati in 2005 from a village called Dareda. She is 24 years old and she works in a small shop selling food and other small things.

Yoanna explains that she liked the life in the village. She had never thought about moving and she didn\textquotesingle t have any thoughts about life in the town before coming here. She says that she wanted to see how it looked like. She thinks that the attitude among young people is that life in the town is good and life in the village is bad, however that is not what she thinks.

In the village she wasn\textquotesingle t working although she helps her family with cultivating their plot and taking care of their animals. It was her brother who asked her to come to Babati and help him and his wife to take care of their baby. It was the brother who made the decision that she should move to the town and it was he who made all the arrangements with Yoannas move.

When Yoanna arrived in Babati she moved in with her brother and his wife where she still lives. First she took care of the baby but in 2007 her brother opened a small shop and then she started to work there. She wasn\textquotesingle t looking for a job though, she wanted to go back to the village but her brother told her to work there. Yoanna says that she doesn\textquotesingle t think that there is anything positive with the town and she wants to move back to the village.

Since Yoanna came to Babati in 2005 she has visited her village three times. She doesn\textquotesingle t send any money to her family though she works in her brothers\textquotesingle shop and he supports the family in the village. She doesn\textquotesingle t get any crops from the village. She thinks that she will move back to the village as soon as they get someone to work in the shop.

For other migrants the move from the village can be a way to obtain their individual freedom and to get the chance to become independent. This is the history that Christina told me when I met her outside the bookshop where she works.

Christina Homa\textsuperscript{72} is 24 years old and she came to Babati in 2005. When she finished her secondary education she worked at the local church\textquotesingle s kindergarten. She decided to leave her village Nakwa and her job at the kindergarten since the salary was very low and there were not a lot of other things to do in the village except farming. Christina explains that she wanted to have independence, further education and that she thought about doing some kind of trading business. The most important thing for her was to be able to build her own life.

Before Christina came to town she had been told that life in town was very difficult and that it was hard to get a job and that it would be easier to get employment if you had some kind of training. Hence, she found it relevant to obtain computer training in town. When Christina arrived to Babati she stayed with her aunt. She didn\textquotesingle t get a job and to finance her computer training she started selling cakes. After a year Christina started the computer training and now she works in a bookshop.

\textsuperscript{69} Gwandu, Augustino (2008-02-13) Teacher.
\textsuperscript{70} Francis, Pascalina (2008-02-06) Nanny.
\textsuperscript{71} Sumaye, Yoanna (2008-02-07) Works in a small shop.
\textsuperscript{72} Homa, Christina (2008-02-07) Works in a bookshop.
She explains that life in town is not like she had expected it to be since things are more expensive to buy than she had thought and that you have to buy everything you need. She compares this with the life in the village, saying that in the village you can get almost everything from your own garden. She gets crops from her family to sell and for her own consumption and she sends material goods, like clothes, to her family in the village.

She thinks that the positive thing with the town is that if you have skills you can get employment. The negative side of the town is that you cannot walk by yourself during the evening and during the night since it is not safe and you can get robbed and raped.

At the present Christina lives alone in a house she rents. In the first place, when she thought about moving she wanted to move to Arusha and Babati was her second choice as a place of residence, therefore she still thinks about moving to Arusha. But now she also considers to stay in Babati and to build her own house when she gets enough money. When she grows old and when it is time for retirement she wants to stay in town.

Christina was attracted to move to the town because she wanted independence. Since she had heard that it was easier to get a job if you had some kind of training she decided to get computer training. My informant Tedy was also attracted by the town because she wanted computer training which she couldn’t get if she stayed in the village. This is what Tedy told me.

_Tedy Theo philly_73 is a young woman that came to Babati in September 2007 from Maskarod in Mbulu district. When she lived in the village she was farming and taking care of animals. She got primary education in Maskarod and secondary education in another village. She moved to the village where she did her secondary education thus the move to Babati was her second shift of residence. Her first thought was to go to Mwanza but she changed her mind and went to Babati.

Tedy explains that the life in the village was a bit harsh because you had to fetch water and firewood and there was no market where you could buy things. She imagined that the urban life would be easy. She had heard a lot of things about life in the town from people who came to the village. One thing she remembers was that they said that the social services were close to where people lived, for example, hospitals and transports/bus service. She believes that young people’s image of town is that everything that is good, material things, is to be found in the town and that in the village you cannot find any good things. Before coming to Babati she had three expectations about the town, and those were that it would be a lot of cars, tarmic roads, and that there would be bank service in the town.

At the present Tedy is 22 years old and she works as a secretary. It was her own decision to move from the village to Babati. She didn’t get any help with the move, she arranged it herself. When she arrived in Babati she stayed with her aunt. She wanted to come to Babati to get computer education since in her village there was no possibility to get computer training. When she finished the computer training she got the job as a secretary. She thinks that it was easy to get the job, she got it right away.

She thinks that it is positive that you can get employment in town so you get money and can buy a lot of things. But she says that people who doesn’t get employment becomes thieves, which she thinks is a negative thing about the town. She says that the town is like she

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73 Theo’philly, Tedy (2008-02-08) Secretary.
had expected it to be, with lots of cars, tarmac roads and bank service. She doesn’t think that she’ll move back to the village.

Mogens Holms explains that migration rarely takes place to an unfamiliar place and that the decision to migrate is usually based upon some information about how life can become at the destination, for example, wage-employment opportunities at the destination.\(^{74}\)

Susanna Jacksson\(^{75}\) thinks that young people want to go to the town and get employment but that many do not have contacts so they find it hard to get employment. The informant Phillipo told me about the importance of social networks in the town and how people who had left the village for the urban life affected his decision to migrate.

*Phillipo Ellias*\(^{76}\) is 22 years old and he works as a tailor in Babati town. He came to Babati in 2003 from a village called Bonga which is located approximately 20 kilometers from Babati.

Phillipo explains that life in the village was tough because his father died when he was just a boy. His mother subsequently remarried however her husband didn’t support the children of the late husband. Hence, Phillipo and his brother had to work really hard, cultivating a plot that they had been given when their father died. When the crops were ready they sold some and saved some for themselves.

During the time Phillipo was living in the village he thought that life in the town would be easy. He thought that people could earn money easily and therefore they could buy everything they desired and have a luxurious life. His friends told him about the urban life and that it could change his life completely but they also told him that the life was difficult. However, Phillipo saw how his friends’ life changed for the better and he then realized that life in the town was difficult but he believed that if you would work hard then it would be easy.

When Phillipo finished his primary school education he decided to move to Babati and his mother was happy with his decision. He wanted to move to the town so he could get training to become a tailor and when he had finished the training he could move back to the village and be a tailor there. In the first place Phillipo wanted to move to Arusha but after some consideration he thought it was easier to go to Babati because he had contacts there which could help with housing and training arrangements.

Once Phillipo arrived in Babati he stayed with a friend since he didn’t have any relatives in town to stay with. It was the same friend that trained him to become a tailor. Phillipo started the training straight away when he arrived in town. Nevertheless he found it hard to pay for the training and at the same time buy food. When he finished his training his friend advised him to stay in the town to be a tailor there instead of going back to the village. Hence, in 2004, his family moved to Babati. Phillipo explains that the town was like he had expected and he says that he do not want to move back to the village. In general, he thinks that young people in the village believes that life in the town is easy and that young people in the town thinks that life in the village is very difficult.

Phillipo’s story shows that children can pull the family/parent to town. Although, usually it is the opposite way that it is the parents who move and bring their children or the wives that

\(^{74}\) Holms, Mogens (1992) p. 244.  
\(^{75}\) Jacksson, Susanna (2008-02-11) Tailor trainee.  
\(^{76}\) Ellias, Phillipo (2008-02-11) Tailor.
moves to stay together with their husbands. Such as for my informant Maria Labia who moved to Babati to stay together with her husband. This is what she told me when I met with her in her home.

Maria Labia is 23 years old and she recently came to Babati, in January 2008. She comes from a village called Dung’unyi which is located in Singida region. When she was living in the village she thought that life there was a bit difficult compared to the life in town. She saw young people coming from the town to visit their family or relatives. They looked different because they were nicely dressed and they had proper haircuts hence young people in the village started to admire these people and desired the same things. She explains that, if you compare two young persons, one born in the village and one born in the town, the person that has been working in the village looks older. Maria got her picture about how life could be like in the urban area by talking with the people that came and visited. They told her that in town it is possible to buy anything you want and to get nice clothes. Maria had a sister and an aunt living in a town and she heard things about the urban life from them too. They told her about the schools in the town, that they had secondary schools not only for boys, as the secondary school in Maria’s village was for boys only. While living in the village Maria was farming and she got training to become a tailor.

In January Maria got married to a man who lived in Babati and for that reason she decided to move to the town and stay with her husband. In the first place Maria wanted to move to another town but since she had no work and her husband had an employment in Babati, they decided to live there. Maria says that it is difficult to find an employment in the town and for the moment her husband, who knows the town well, is looking for a job for her. She and her husband are now renting a part of a house although they would like to have their own house.

Babati was not like Maria had expected it to be. Before coming to Babati she thought that the town would be small but when she arrived to the town she realized that it was quite big. One thing that she thinks is positive with the town is that, if you have a job you can buy anything you want. However she finds it challenging that you need to earn money and spend money every day to be able to survive. She compares this with the life in the village saying that in the village you can survive for three months without spending any money. Though she has only stayed here for a short period so far, she hasn’t gotten any crops from the village yet. She expects that she will get crops for the family and to sell. Maria says that as soon as she gets a job she will send some money to her family in the village. In the future, she hopes that she will have her own tailoring business. Although, when it is time for retirement she would prefer to move back to the village.

Maria believes that the attitude among young people is that people with education can get employment and have fairly good lives. She thinks that people without education think that they can come to town and get a job but instead they fail to find work and becomes alcoholics or drug addicts.

Sometimes, as for my informant Phillipo Ellias and Bakari Said, life seems more appealing in the town than in the village. Bakari decided himself to move to town. He wanted

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78 Labia, Maria (2008-02-14).
to live in the town where he could work and earn money so he can start his own mechanic business someday. Bakari imagined the town as a beautiful and very nice place and he thought that life would be easy there. He explains that the image he had was met when he arrived in the town.  

My informant Kasim Shabani also decided to go to Babati because he wanted to get a job. Kasim, Bakari and Phillipo were drawn to the town and the opportunities they believed it had and so was Emmanuel. Although, Emmanuel had another dream, than Tedy and Phillipo, which made him leave the village. The following is what Emmanuel told me the day we met at a local restaurant.

*Emmanuel Lori*³³ came to Babati from Malangi in 2003. He had just finished his primary education before coming to town. In the village he helped the family with cultivation. He thought that life in the village was tough, the only thing you could do was to cultivate and to take care of animals. He wanted to change his life, that is why he made the decision to move to the town. There was no one who had told him about life in the town but he thought that life in the town would be better than in the village. He thinks that the general opinion among young people is that life in the town is easy compared with the life in the village. Emmanuel thought that in town everyone would be busy compared with people in the village who he says are jealous. His parents were happy with his decision and he got help with arrangements from his family and they gave him some money in the beginning.

Emmanuel was interested in mechanics and he wanted to work in a mechanic garage. In the first place he thought that it would be difficult to get a job in the town but the pastor in the village helped him to get a training spot at a mechanic garage in the town so he didn’t have to go around searching for one when he arrived in the city.

He had no family or relatives in Babati so when he arrived in the town he stayed with a friend. Nowadays he rents a room. At least once a month he goes to visit his family and relatives in the village. When he goes there he gives them some money and they give him some crops which he can sell and have to eat.

After finishing the training he got a job at the mechanic garage although then he thought he needed more training because of new technologies.

Emmanuel explains that the life in the town is not like he expected it to be. He thought he would get a better life and a bit success but that was wrong because he still needs to work hard. In the future he would like to have his own garage and he would like to build his own house. He hopes to get trained in a college someday. He says that “as the town grows he will grow with it”³⁴.

Not every young person has the free will to choose if they want to leave their home area or not. There are young people who leave because they feel that they are forced to because they cannot find any other way to survive than to leave their home area because of suffering and abuse. The choice they have is to live with or without the violence. The following story is from one of my young informants.

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³⁴ Lori, Emmanuel (2008-02-09).
This young man came to Babati three years ago without anywhere to live. He explains that he left his home in a nearby village since his father sold everything they cultivated and took the money to get drunk and then beat him and his brother. Hence, the life in the village was very tough and when he decided to leave he walked to Babati because he had friends there. There was no one who helped him with any arrangements. When he reached Babati his friends couldn’t offer him a place to stay thus he has been homeless ever since then.

The informant explains that when he lived in the village he didn’t have any thoughts about how life could be like in a town. No one had told him about the urban life. In the village the informant worked, making charcoal, cultivating and taking care of animals. He thinks that when you work in the village you have to work harder to be able to earn the same amount of money as you can earn in a town. He says that he thinks that young people, in general, finds the life in the town good and the life in the village bad.

When the informant arrived in Babati he got a job at the local market and from that work he gets a small amount of money but it is not enough money to rent a room. Even though he do not have a home of his own he thinks that everything with the life in the town is positive and he says that he never wants to go back to the village. Someday he hopes that he can get training to become a mechanic and one day he would like to have his own house and a family.

Once the migrants had settled in the town their expectations were being met in different ways. As the majority of the previous informants have mentioned they think that young people imagine the life in the city to be easier than in the village.

Kasim Shabani explains that his friends told him about the life in the town, that he could get trained and get a job there. When he was living in the rural area he imagined the life in the town to be easier than the life in the village because you would have access to social services and because there would be a lot of opportunities in the town. Kasim thinks that the town is like he expected it to be. He explains that he didn’t find anything negative with the town when he first came there but now he says that he has realized that there are thieves and people that drink a lot of alcohol. He says that there was no problem with thieves and alcohol in the village.

For Pascalina Francis the town wasn’t really like she had expected it to be. She thought that there were no animals in the town and that people didn’t cultivate. What she realized once she came to Babati was that people actually did cultivate and that people kept animals.

The image Abdalah Kimolo had about life in the town was that the town would be a good place and that you could get a job and make money. Abdalah left his village because the life there was rough and he didn’t have any food. After being in the town for some time Abdalah realized that the image he had about the town was not true because he didn’t find anything positive with the town, not even making money. He says that there are thieves in the town and that you cannot trust people.

Susanna Jacksson thought that life in the town would be difficult because you had to earn money. She thought that the houses in town would be better than the ones in the village,

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85 For concern of the informant’s security I have chosen to protect this person’s name.
87 Francis, Pascalina (2008-02-06) Maid/nanny.
that the town houses would have electricity and running water. She found that the town was like she had imagined.

Augustino Gwandu\textsuperscript{90} explains that life in the village is difficult and that people do not like to live in the rural area because of the infrastructure. He also says that young people thinks life in the town is simple because of infrastructure, electricity and other social services. Augustino thought that people in the town would live hygienic lives which he found was true once he had settled in the town.

Witness Bombo\textsuperscript{91} says that young people think that the life in the village is tough because you have to work hard, what the young people do not realize is that they have to work just as hard in the town to earn money.

6. LIFE IN THE VILLAGE

To get an enhanced picture of the life in the village I visited some villages in Babati district and talked with some young people to see how they experienced the life in the rural area. As the life in the village can be seen as the point of origin to the rural-urban migration it seemed evident to visit some villages. I visited four villages called Sigino, Nakwa, Bonga and Magugu.

6.1. Potential rural-urban migrants?

Joel John\textsuperscript{92} lives in Sigino village. He is 22 years old. Joel thinks that life in the village is tough. He explains that there are many problems with transports and communication in the village. The village is far away from any social services for example hospital. There is no electricity in the village, just fire and there is no running water, only wells. He says that many people do not boil the water because they do not know that they should, they just drink it hence they get problems.

In the village Joel takes care of animals and cultivates. He is waiting to go to high school in Mbulu. He went to secondary school in Mbugwe, which is a boarding school.

Joel thinks that life in the town is better than in the village due to social service. He thinks that people in the town are healthier and that people in the village have more diseases. He believes that the town is more secure and safe than the village even though there are more crimes in the town because of higher population. Joel says that the chances of getting an employment are higher in the town because there are many people who are doing business in town. In the village there is no employment and if you sell things in the village you get less payment than in town. Joel says that there are people who live in town who have told him about the urban life.

Joel explains that he wants to live in town and that he has been preparing for it all his life. But at this moment he doesn’t have the money to move. He also says that he will need accommodation which he doesn’t have. He explains that the things that attract him most in the town are the houses, roads and the chance to meet a lot of people with whom you can change

\textsuperscript{90} Gwandu, Augustino (2008-02-13) Teacher.
\textsuperscript{91} Bombo, Witness (2008-02-08).
\textsuperscript{92} John, Joel (2008-02-17).
ideas. In the town he would like to do something that will give him some profit, some kind of work. Joel thinks that most young people prefer to live in the town but it is difficult to leave the village, one problem is that you need money to go.

*Alin Abel* is 21 years old and comes from Nakwa village nearby Babati. He says that he was born there and has lived there all his life. Apart from Nakwa he hasn’t seen any other town than Babati. He works as a fisherman.

Alin explains that he has heard that life in the town is very nice if you have a job but without a job life there is difficult. He would like to move to town someday but at this moment he doesn’t think about going there because he doesn’t have the capital to go and he doesn’t have an employment there. If he moves to town he would like to work as a shopkeeper.

Alin thinks that the town is attractive because you can get access to electricity, hospital and running water and luxury things such as pubs and restaurants. Getting access to these kinds of services in the village is not possible at this moment. Although, he says, there are some shops in the village that has gotten access to electricity but the people in the village haven’t put it in their houses yet. Alin believes that young people thinks that life in the village is difficult because there is no good money circulation and that life in the town is easy because of employment and material things.

*Geofrey Joshua* lives with his grandmother in Nakwa. He’s 20 years old and at the moment he works with cultivation and taking care of animals. Geofrey has his own experience from living in a town though he went to secondary school in Moshi in northern Tanzania. He says that there are many things available in the town like electricity and communication. He explains that in the village it is difficult with communication for example there is no connection on the cellular phone. Geofrey thinks that life in the village is very hard even though you have a job because the only work in the village is farming. He explains that as a farmer and animal caretaker you cannot arrange your time since you have to move around with the animals all the time and you cannot leave them. And as people cannot arrange their time they do not even have time to wash their clothes. He explains that if you live in town you can arrange your time.

When Geofrey finish his studies he would like to move to town and work as an engineer. He thinks that young people in the village feel like they are “living in a pot” because people do not get any news and they lack many things that can be found in town such as medical service and transports.

*Africanus Theophil* is a 20 years old young man that has lived in Bonga all his life. He cultivates, takes care of animals and works in a shop where they sell medicine. He thinks that the life in the village is bad because of the lack of transports, roads, material goods, electricity and tap water. Africanus believes that life is easier in town where people have access to electricity. He explains that if you had access to electricity in the village you could buy for example a generator which you could use to start a business. Even though he doesn’t think that the life is good he prefers the life in the village and he wouldn’t want to move to town.

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93 Abel, Alin (2008-02-17).
94 Joshua, Geofrey (2008-02-17).
95 Joshua, Geofrey (2008-02-17).
96 Theophil, Africanus (2008-02-18).
He says that life is easy in the village because you can buy a piece of land and grow crops and if you keep animals you get milk. He then explains that if you have the opportunity to buy a generator you can pump water to the fields and if you then got a car you could take the crops to the market and sell it.

*Elly Mchome*\(^7\) lives in a larger village called Magugu. He is 24 years old and he has a shop where he sells farmer equipment. Elly explains that it is becoming tough to live in the village because high prices and because the lack of health centers. He explains that life gets harder when it doesn’t rain properly since the farmers are dependent on the rain. He also explains that life in the village is hard for the young people though it is hard getting a place at the secondary school in the village. He says that there is only one secondary school but three primary schools in the village. He believes that it is hard for young people to have their own business in the village if they do not get any capital to start one. He explains that the wet land surrounding the village is expensive to rent so you need capital to be able to have your own plot. He thinks that young people do not want to live in the village but that they do not have contacts in town or the capital to move there.

Elly wants to move someday but he says that it is too early for him to move because he doesn’t have the capital to start a life in town. He thinks that life in town is better than in the village because in the town there is money circulation since there are more people buying things there. Elly says that if he goes to town he would like to get trained in English so he can do different kinds of trading, more advanced trade.

### 7. THE LOGIC OF MIGRATION TO BABATI

The picture the rural-urban migrants had about the rural area seemed to be clearer and more decisive than the one they had about the urban area. This is probably due to the fact that the informants had been living there for a long time before they decided to move hence they had a lot of information about the life in the area. This is equivalent with Lee’s argument that migrants better define the judgments they have of the area of origin.\(^8\)

For many of the rural-urban informants and the potential urban migrants the life in the village was considered to be difficult, tough and hard. The reason for this was mainly because there was nothing else to do in the village except cultivating and taking care of animals. Working on the family plot without getting any payment didn’t seem fulfilling for many of the informants and getting any other job in the village was hard. They all think that life is difficult because there is a lack of electricity, roads, running water and clean water, employment opportunities, health service and schools. The lack of these things, among others, makes the young people leave the rural area. As Joe Lugalla explained, migration is indulged by the unequal access to medical services, clean water and nutrition.\(^9\)

The potential migrants had a clear image about how life was in the village and why they would like to move to an urban area. Joel John and Africanus Theophil thought that life in the village was hard due to the lack of electricity, running water, health service and so forth.

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\(^7\)Mchome, Elly (2008-02-19) Shopkeeper.


Joel John imagine the life in the town to be easier than in the village because of the chances to get an employment and because there would be better houses, roads and people living a healthier life than in the village. Alin Abel and Geoffrey Joshua were also attracted by the fact that in the town you would have access to electricity, running water and communication.

Yoanna and Africanus preferred the life in the village although Africanus thought that the life in the village was tough and lacked such things as electricity and running water. As Africanus mentioned, he thought that life in the village was difficult but even so he preferred to live there. His desire was that they would get electricity to the village so he could make his own business. Maybe there would be a less desire among people in the rural area to migrate to town if they had access to electricity, health services, educational opportunities and so forth. Such as Mabogunje explains it is important to raise the living standards in the rural area.100

The image of the urban area was not as clear although there were some of the informants that remembered how they imagined the life in the urban area while they were living in the village. At first Phillipo Ellias thought that life in the town would be easy but after he got more information from his friends he changed his mind. He realized that if the life in the town would be easy you had to work hard. Furthermore, Phillipo imagined the town to be a life changing opportunity and he thought that if you worked hard you could earn money and buy anything you desired. For Phillipo the life in the town came to be like he had expected. That is, if you work hard life in town is relatively easy.

Neewa imagined the town to be big when she lived in the village but she realized that it was not true. She found that the town was quiet small. Maria imagined the opposite that the town was quiet small but she thought that it was rather big. Apart from this Maria thinks that life in the town is like she expected it to be, with secondary schools and nicely dressed people.

One of the informants, Yoanna, didn’t have any images about the life in the town, this was because she had never thought about moving and she wanted to stay in the village. The only thing she thought was that she wanted to see for herself how the town looked liked.

For Marcel and Tedy the town was like they had expected it to be. That is, with social services, good schools, water supply, lots of cars, tarmac roads and bank service. But for Christina and Emmanuel the town wasn’t like they had thought. Christina thinks that things are more expensive than she had imagined and Emmanuel thinks he hasn’t gotten a better life and success like he had expected.

As Joe Lugalla writes people tend to have images of the urban area that doesn’t concur with the reality.101 This should be that rural inhabitants imagine the town as a place where they can find well paid employment and better living standards. Many of the informants that were interviewed seemed to want a life different from the one they had in the rural area. And for many of them it seemed like they found things like further education, electricity and health services to be important things and good things. As for some people, like Phillipo, they know that life in the urban area is tough but if you work hard you can get a better living standard.

That almost all informants thought that young people in general thinks that life in the rural area is difficult and that life in the urban area is easy is not surprising. They hear people talk about the urban area and maybe they have visited the urban area themselves and they realize

that they can find a lot of things in the town that doesn’t exist in the village. They know that in town you can find nice houses, electricity, schools and health service and many more things. These are things that they find attractive and that they want to struggle for.

Between the women and the men there were no difference in how they imagined the rural area. For almost all of the informants the life in the village was difficult due to the lack of things mentioned earlier, such as electricity, education, running water and health services.

For the images of the urban life every migrant had his/her own expectations on how life in town could be like for them. The women’s expectations were no different from the men’s. Some women had similar ideas like the men and some men had similar ideas like the women.

One thing that is common in all the migration histories is that the informants have wanted to change their life some way. They have chosen to do this in different ways. Some have gone to secondary school and others have chosen to get occupational training.

Several migrants achieved what they came to do in the town but some have not gotten what they expected. Even so, most of the migrants wanted to stay in the town and build their own houses and almost everyone wanted to grow old in the town.

8. SUMMARY

Migration from rural areas in Babati district and district surrounding it to Babati town, in north central Tanzania, is attractive to men and women in the ages 16 to 24.

There is no evident difference between the men’s and the women’s images of the rural and the urban life. The life in the rural area is seen to be hard and difficult and many of the informants believed that this is due to the lack of schools, electricity, running water, health services, communication, paid employment and material things. The informants took the chance to change their lives to something better by moving to Babati. Although there were some informants that hadn’t made the decision to move themselves, but there were only one of these informants that wanted to move back to the village.

Most of the informants were positive to the life in town even though some had expectations that were not realized once they had settled in the town. A couple of informants discovered some negative things with the urban life. They realized that there were thieves and alcoholics in the town and that you couldn’t walk home alone in the evening or in the night.

There were some difference between the men’s and the women’s motives behind the migration. Some women moved because they wanted computer training and independence. Two women were told to move by their families to become nannies in Babati. One woman moved to unit with her husband who lived in Babati.

There were three men that moved to Babati because they wanted mechanics training. Two men moved because they lived a rough life in the village, one was beaten the other didn’t have any food. One man was moved by the government to be a teacher in Babati.

It is clear from the interviews that the informants believe that you have to be prepared to leave the countryside if you want further education, an employment or if you want to start a business. These among other various factors makes young people move from rural areas to Babati.
The migration factors discovered in this field study can be divided into two different groups of push and pull factors. There are more pull factors than push factors although it is evident that many of the pull factors in the town serve as push factors from the rural area. Many things that the informants desired were not to be found in the village hence there was a lack of things and therefore the lack served as a push factor. The factors that pulled the informants to town were:

- the desire to obtain further education, such as to go to secondary school and to obtain computer training
- the chances to get some kind of work training, such as tailor training or training to become a mechanics
- the chances to find an employment and the many ways to earn money, not solemnly on cultivation and farming
- chances to make your own business
- social services, water supply, electricity
- communication, roads, telecommunication
- marriage
- independence

The factors that pushed the informants from the rural area was:

- no chance to obtain further education
- no chances to earn any money, on anything except farming and cultivation
- family and relatives

It is evident that young people feel they have to leave the rural area and migrate to a town to be able to change or enhance their life situation. The only things that seem to obstruct potential migrants to move are the lack of capital or contacts in the town.
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**Photos**

All photographs in this essay are photographed by the author.