

Gendered Migration and the Urban Informal Sector: A Case Study of Mwanza City, Tanzania

George F. Masanja

St. Augustine University of Tanzania
Mwanza Tanzania

E-mail: grgmasanja@yahoo.co.uk

Abstract: *This study examined gendered migration patterns in Mwanza City, Tanzania as well as the impacts of differentials of men's and women's migration on their absorption in the urban informal sector, their access to assets, adaptation to city life and their livelihood and also their role in development of origin areas. The study employed a combination of Participatory appraisal methods, cross-sectional and causal comparative research design. The study sample comprised of 400 male and female urban migrants. Findings showed that for temporary marginal men migrants, reasons to move were strongly associated with 'push' factors rather than 'pull' factors. By contrast, their women counterparts' decision to move was greatly determined by personal/family issues and situations. Social networks played a key role in men's and women's migration. However, men migrants relied more on such close ties as friends and kinsmen, whereas women migrants relied more on gendered social networks harbouring city-village ties in their migration process and adaptation into city life. The differences in employment absorption in the informal sector as well as upward occupational mobility between men and women migrants resulted from gender roles. Female migrants tended to find employment earlier than males (mainly in the informal sector) due to their willingness to accept lower wages. The disparity between the sexes on access to assets and property was very minimal. Despite female migrants' low levels of education and working in low profile occupations, they almost universally sent home a higher proportion of their incomes than male migrants.*

INTRODUCTION

Rural-urban migration in Tanzania can be traced back to the early colonial period. However, since the late 1970s and early 1980s, a large influx of rural-urban migration has flooded most Tanzanian cities. The trend has been so strong such that it has attracted the attention of both policy makers and academics alike. Many recent studies have investigated various aspects of such an important issue (see, for example Knight and Song, 1966, 1999; Mbonile, 1993; O'Connor 1988; Mwangeni, 1991; Masanja, 2010).

In the literature of rural-urban migration, the importance of the urban informal sector to migrants is a controversial issue. Most classical migration models treat the informal sector as a temporary employment opportunity for migrants (see, Todaro, 1969; Fields, 1975; 1976, Mazumdar, 1976, 1977). In the early 1970s, the International Labour Organization (ILO) published a report (ILO, 1972) on Kenyan employment, income and equality, which challenged the above-mentioned theoretical models and suggested that the informal sector in Kenya played an important role in economic development. Since then other studies have supported the ILO findings (Bhattacharya, 1993; Deshpande, 1983).

There may be two important reasons which have lead to the controversy. One is a conceptual confusion. While the definition of 'informal' activities ranges from 'selling' used clothes to 'self-employment in small business', it is possible that different activities play different roles in the process of rural-urban migration. Another reason may be that the importance of the informal sector depends on the stage of economic development of the country. Countries at different stages of economic development may experience considerable differences in this regard.

Previous urban studies in Africa have pointed to the existence of "economy of affection" or "moral economy" in the informal sector (Macharia, 1997; Williams, 1987; Tripp, 1997; Tripp and Swantz , 1997). Several authors argue that migrant entrepreneurs in the urban informal sector are caught between supporting their rural relatives while at the same time trying to make ends meet in the city. Many promising informal sector migrant entrepreneurs cannot achieve effective capital investment and expansion of their business as they find it very hard to reject requests for assistance (Marris and Somerset, 1971; Bienefeld, 1975; Hart, 1975). So not surprisingly, some studies have argued that to be successful, entrepreneurs in the informal sector should abandon their "affection" to their rural brethren.

The urban informal sector in Tanzania has, on one hand, been studied mainly with female migrants (see for example Omari, 1989) and other studies present ungendered analyses (Sayaka, 2006; Liviga e.al.,1998). It is very clear that a holistic and comparative approach for an important debate in the rural-urban migration literature 'Gendered migration and the urban informal sector' is missing in the context of the Tanzanian experience. Consequently there is lack of gender disaggregated information on urban migrants' changing socio-economic behaviour to-date and therefore this study intends to fill in this gap.

The general objective of this study was to assess the extent to which gendered migration influences employment absorption in the urban informal sector and its consequential impacts to the development of sending areas using Mwanza City as a case study. The study was driven by a fourfold objective:

- (i) To determine gender differentials in migration in relation to employment absorption in the urban informal sector
- (ii) To assess gender differential changes among migrants on access to assets before and after migration to Mwanza City
- (iii) To assess gender differential changes in the livelihoods of migrants, and
- (iv) To examine gender differential impacts of socio-economic behaviour of migrants in the urban areas and in their areas of origin.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

While household economics theories drawn from the western world contend that the genders are different but equal, in Africa the genders are different and highly unequal (Adepoju, 1993). It is imperative that this study underlines the African reality. Researchers have identified many factors that contribute to migrants' participation in the informal sector. These factors may be broken down into intervening and background variables. Intervening variables include supply and demand factors. Background factors are demographic and socio-cultural factors that influence the supply factors (Shah, 1984; 1990). This study looks at the influence of several intervening factors including: GDP/capital (income), female literacy/male literacy, unemployment, access to assets and urbanization on participation in the urban informal sector.

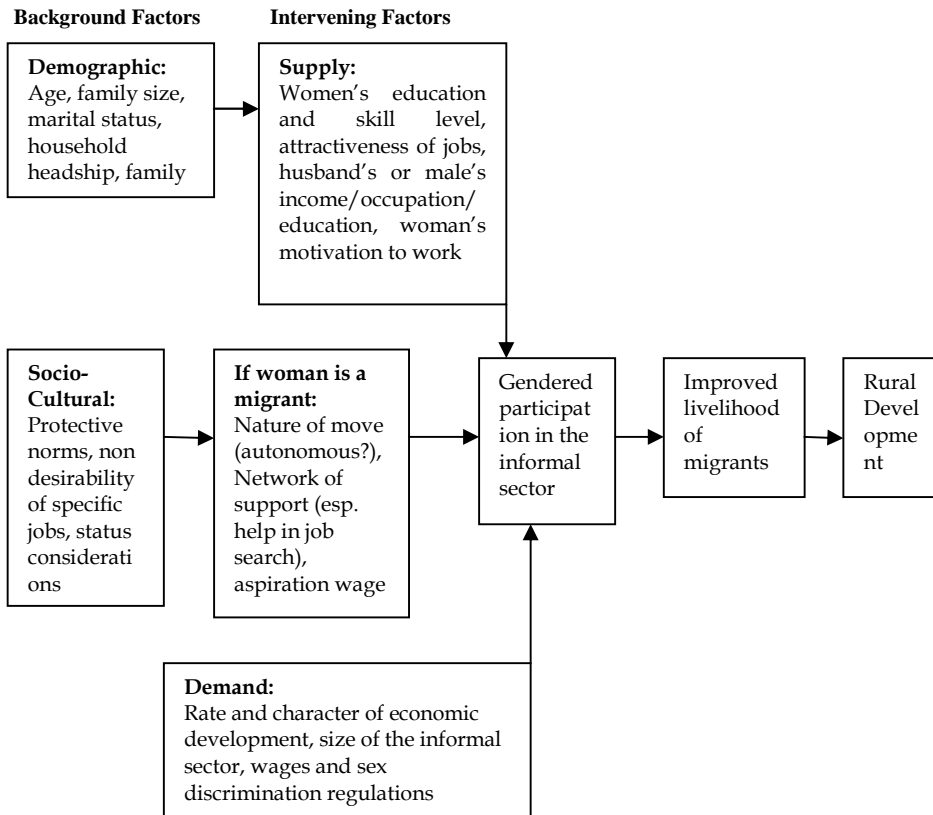


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework
(Modified from Shah and Smith 1984)

METHODOLOGY

The study relied on a combination of participatory appraisal methods, cross sectional and causal-comparative design of which the study attempted to determine the causes, or reasons for existing differences in the behaviour of study groups. A combination of a survey and Focus Group Discussions was used to examine the research questions. A control group comprising non migrants (males and females separately) was used to ensure that the findings are free from researcher bias and error as possible.

The sampling frame for the study consisted of all circular migrants and non migrants of 15 years and above who have lived in Mwanza City for six months or more. Efforts were done to project to the year 2010 the population enumerated in Mwanza City in the national census of the year 2002. The base population of those aged 15+ from the population

census of 2002 was 286,206. The present projected population is 446,482 of those aged 15 years and above.

The main methods of data/information gathering were questionnaires and focused group discussion guides supplemented by wealth ranking. They were designed in such a way as to allow researchers to collect information about circular migrants and non migrants currently living Mwanza City, Their activities and earnings from the urban informal sector, their linkages with their places of origin, policies, their implementation and their effects.

The total sample size for the survey was determined. With a projected population of 446,482 of those aged 15 and above for the year 2010 in Mwanza City, the calculated sample amounted to 399.6 which is about 400.

The specific wards for the study were picked using the systematic sampling procedure with the aid of random table numbers and 4 wards, namely: Igoma, Nyamanoro, Mkuyuni, and Buhongwa were taken. Among these four wards three of them are completely urban and one (Igoma) is a peri-urban ward.

A cross-sectional social survey based on a randomized multi-stage stratified design using proportionate population sizes of study areas was used for collection of quantitative data. The required number of respondents per study area was 400 and the results are tabulated in table 1.

Table 1: Percent Distribution of Respondents per Core and Control Group

	Core group Females N = 101	Core group Males N = 99	Control group females N = 99	Control group males N = 101	TOTAL
Igoma	28 (25%)	28 (25%)	28 (25%)	28 (25%)	112 (100%)
Nyamanoro	45 (25%)	45 (25%)	45 (25%)	45(25%)	180 (100%)
Mkuyuni	18 (24.7%)	19 (26%)	19 (26%)	18(24.7%)	74(100%)
Buhongwa	10 (29.4%)	7 (20.6%)	8 (23.5%)	9(26.5%)	34 (100%)
TOTAL	101(25.3%)	99 (24.8%)	99 (24.7%)	101(25.3%)	400 (100%)

Source: Gendered Migration Survey, Mwanza 2011

Names of study areas within the city were selected with the assistance of random table numbers. A pilot tested (using the test-retest method) questionnaire consisting of structured questions was administered directly to 400 respondents out of whom 200 comprised the control

group. Analysis of the collected data was done with the aid of the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 12.0.

For the administration of focus group discussions, migrants (males and females separately), being the objects or units of analysis of this study, were selected from sentinel sites of the study wards of Mwanza City, using purposive snowball sampling as described by Kathuri and Pals (1993). Two focus group discussions were held in each sentinel site to collect qualitative information. The gathered data were analysed with the aid of ethnograph software.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A total of 400 respondents were valid for analysis (Table 1). Table 2 presents the characteristics of respondents.

Table 2: Characteristics of the Respondents

	Female migrants	Female non-migrants	Male migrants	Male non-migrants	Total
Sample size	101 (25.3%)	99 (24.7%)	99 (24.7%)	101 (25.3%)	400(100%)
Mean age	23	29	26	30	27**
Marital Status					
Married	43 (42.6%)	53 (53.6%)	48(48.5%)	52(51.5%)	196 (49.0%)
Single	23 (22.8%)	19 (19.2%)	26 (26.3%)	28 (27.7%)	96 (24.0%)
Widow/widowed	11 (10.9%)	3 (3.0%)	5 (5.1%)	4 (4.0%)	23 (5.8%)
Separated	5 (4.9%)	2 (2.0%)	3 (3.0%)	2 (2.0%)	12 (3.0%)
Divorced	8 (7.9%)	2 (2.0%)	3 (3.0%)	1 (1.0%)	14 (3.5%)
Cohabited	11 (10.9%)	20 (20.2%)	14 (14.1%)	14 13.8%	59 (14.7%)
	101(100%)	99 (100%)	99 (100%)	101 (100%)	400 (100%)
Education status					
No formal Education	1(1.0%)	1 (1.0%)	0(0%)	0 (0%)	2 (0.5%)
Adult literacy	1 (1.0%)	1 (1.0%)	1(1.0%)	0 (0%)	3 (0.8%)
Std VII	65 (64.4%)	49 (49.5%)	57 (57.6%)	54 (53.5%)	225 (56.3%)
Form IV	32 (31.6%)	30 (30.3%)	36 (36.4%)	29 (28.7%)	127 (31.7%)
Form VI	2 (2.0%)	14 (14.1%)	3 (3.0%)	11 (10.9%)	30 (7.5%)
Other	0 (0.0%)	4 (4.1%)	2 (2.0%)	7 (6.9%)	13 (3.2%)
	101 (100%)	99 (100%)	99 (100%)	101 (100%)	400 (100%)
Duration of stay					
6-12 months	21 (20.8%)	-	27 (27.3%)	-	48 (24%)
1-5 years	32 (31.7%)	-	30 (30.3%)	-	62 (31%)
6-10 years	29 (28.7%)	-	22 (22.2%)	-	51 (25.5%)
10+ years	19 (18.8%)	-	20 (20.2%)	-	39 (19.5%)
	101 (100%)	-	99 (100%)	-	200 (100%)

** Significant at 2% probability level (t-test)

Source: Gendered Migration Survey, Mwanza 2011

Data collected and presented in Table 2 shows that half (50%) of the respondents were males and another half (50%) were females. Of all the

respondents 49% were married. The number of married respondents was higher for men (48.5%) compared to that of women (42.6%). There were a good number of single respondents for both men (26.3%) and women (22.8%) while the widows/widowers, divorced, separated and co-habited were minorities in both male and female respondents. Fifty percent of the respondents belong to age range of 20-40 years. Generally, most of the respondents were relatively young with a mean age of 27 years. However, there was a significant difference ($P < 5\%$) of age between female and male migrants with male respondents being relatively older than women. The reason behind this was not clear. However, it is possible that most of the female migrants are likely to be married.

Most of the migrants have stayed in Mwanza City for a period between 1-5 years (31%) followed by those who have for a period between 6-10 years 25.5%. This means that this proportion could say more about the effects of rural-urban migration in the study area. The mean year the migrants had spent was about 5 years while the mode was 1-5 years, which indicates that the migrants have spent a relatively moderate period in the study area; therefore they could give reliable information on the rural urban migration.

Perceived Reasons for Moving to Mwanza City

The respondents were asked to express their perceptions of the reasons for moving to Mwanza City. The results were categorized by sex and by status of migration. Table 3 presents the results.

Table 3: Perceived Reasons for Moving to Mwanza City

Sex	Perceived reason	Migrants		Non Migrants	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
Males N=200	Unemployment	73.2	26.8	N.A.	N.A.
	Lack of farmland	68.1	31.9		
	Lack of Educational opportunities	45.8	54.2		
	Expulsion from rural area	23.7	76.3		
	Inadequate social amenities	69.6	30.4		
	Report of city life by earlier migrant	70.3	29.7		
Females N=200	Look for a male partner	60.2	39.8	N.A.	N.A.
	Harshness of rural life	66.3	33.7		
	Residence in patrilocal (Socio-Cultural)	46.1	53.9		
	Witchcraft accusations	35.6	64.4		
	Marriage	50.1	49.9		
	Existence of unwanted marriage	59.7	40.3		
	Loss of husband	62.2	37.8		
	Ties between city and village	64.9	35.1		
	Need for education	65.8	34.2		
	Employment	70.2	29.8		

N.A. Not Applicable

Source: Gendered Migration Survey, Mwanza 2011

The topmost factors perceived by migrants as important reasons for rural-urban migration were unemployment (72.3%), report of city life by earlier migrants (70.3%), inadequate social amenities (69.6%) and lack of farmland (68.1%). For females, employment accounts for (70.2%), harshness of rural life (66.3%), need for education (65.8%), gendered social network ties between city and village (64.9%), loss of husband (62.2%) and looking for a male partner (60.2%) as important reasons for rural-urban migration.

Results of the survey show four categories of female migrants. The first category consists of the young unmarried women with little formal education who move to the city in search of employment. Results shown in table 4.4 indicate that 13.9% consist of unskilled young women who work at first as domestics. Yet there is another group of young women who move to the city as a result of the expansion of secondary education. These also go to there in search of employment (whether paid employment or self employment). However, there is another group who goes to the city in search of a male partner who is financially sound and therefore looks for a support from the earnings of the partner. The widowed, divorced and separated also move to the city in search of a better living. These tend to lead an autonomous life.

Non migrants were not asked to respond to a question on perceived reasons for moving to the city of Mwanza as they were already in Mwanza city since the time they were born.

In general terms, survey findings show that for temporary marginal men migrants, reasons to move are strongly associated with 'push' factors rather than 'pull' factors, by contrast, their women counterparts' decision to move is greatly determined by personal/family issues and situations.

Education Levels

Generally, most of the respondents completed primary school education followed by secondary school education. Table 1 shows that about 0.7% of the respondents were not formally educated while the rest had between adult (1.1%), primary (55.8%), secondary [(28.5% for ordinary level and (7.4%) for advanced level)] and tertiary education (3.3%). The findings showed very few of the respondents to have attained college, vocational, or university level education. Nevertheless, there were relatively more men who had attained education above secondary level compared to female respondents by 2.0% and 6.9% compared to 0.0% and 4.1% for women, respectively. These findings generally suggest that post school education is still limited to the minorities in Tanzania. It also

suggests that enrollment rates for females are yet to be at par with males.

The survey also revealed that the formal education for both sexes is lower than of the non migrants. Obviously there is a relationship between levels of education and types of work in Mwanza City mainly in paid domestic jobs. It appears that the jobs that absorb female migrants are polarized between domestic service and skilled activities. Polarization of employment in Mwanza City shows important differences in the education of migrants, especially female migrants who considerably have lower education.

Sources of Incomes and Income Levels

An analysis of the income levels between men and women reveal no significant difference, although men earned slightly higher T.shs 1,498,000 (2,194,699) compared to T.shs 1,232,000 (2,853,354) for women. (Table 4) presents the earnings per annum of migrants by sex. These income levels suggest a low disparity among the sexes.

Table 4: Income per Annum and Sources of Income (T.Shs)

Average Income per annum	Males		Females		Total N = 400
	Migrants N = 99	Non Migrants N = 101	Migrants N = 101	Non Migrants N = 99	
	1,498,000 (2,194,699)	1,490,000 (2,191,543)	1,232,000 (2,853,354)	1,256,000 (2,768,261)	N.S.

N.S. Not significant

Nos. in brackets indicates standard deviation

Source: Gendered Migration Survey, Mwanza 2011

An examination of poverty levels shows no significant difference between men and women, although women's incomes were slightly higher than men's at the income categories of T.shs 10,000 to T.sh 1,000,000. But for incomes above one million, men were slightly higher than women. The results show that 13.0% and 14.6% of men and women, respectively, are under the poverty line. This is much lower than the national average of 33.6% (Tanzania Household Budget Survey Report 2007-Income Poverty and Inequality).

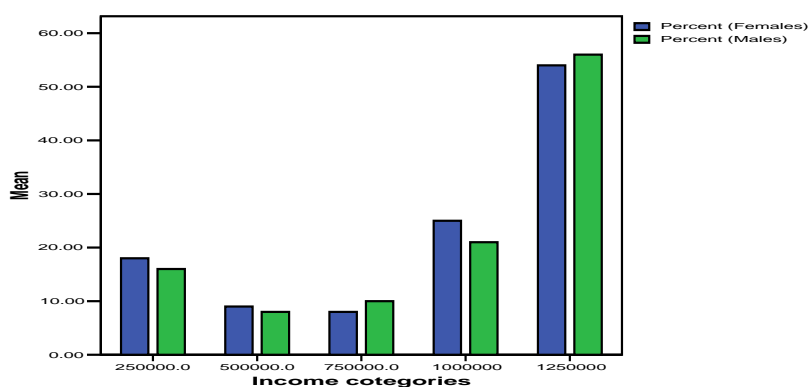


Figure 2: Income categories for male and female urban migrants.

Employment Absorption in the Informal Sector

It has been established earlier that most of female migrants do not possess good educational preparation - so it is difficult for them to get an employment in the formal sector. The majority of them are educated up to the primary and secondary level (see Table 2). On the other hand, female migrants to Mwanza City are predominantly married (42.6%). This shows that there is a family economic burden which pushes them in search of employment. A significant percentage of migrants also belong to the unmarried women group (23.7%). They move to the city's informal sector seeking employment. There are also women who are widowed, divorced or separated and they moved to the city's informal sector to seek employment.

Types of Occupations

To know the details of employment as well as occupational status and daily income, it was felt important to establish the kind of activities they were engaged in when they entered Mwanza City. Table 5 presents the results.

Table 5: Percent Distribution of Migrants by Occupation and Sex

Occupation	Males		Females	
	Migrants	Non migrants	Migrants	Non migrants
Craftswoman/craftsman	3 (3)	4 (4.0)	2 (2.0)	2 (2.0)
Helper in factory	6 (6.1)	5 (5.0)	20 (19.8)	23 (23.2)
Street vendor	40 (40.4)	46 (45.5)	24 (23.8)	20 (20.2)
Seller in shop	13 (13.1)	11 (10.9)	7 (6.9)	8 (8.1)
Work in personal business	21 (21.2)	23 (22.8)	14 (13.9)	8 (8.1)
Domestic worker	1 (1.0)	-	14 (13.9)	16 (16.2)
Hair salon	3 (3)	5 (5.0)	13 (12.9)	17 (17.2)
Secretary	2 (2.0)	2 (2.0)	1 (1.0)	55.1)
Technician	2 (2.0)	4 (4.0)	2 (2.0)	-
Food seller	8 (8.1)	1 (1.0)	4 (4.0)	-
TOTAL	99 (100.0)	101 (100.0)	101 (100.0)	99 (100.0)

Percentages in brackets

Source: Gendered Migration Survey, Mwanza 2011

Table 5 shows the absorption of women in different occupational sectors for both sexes. It further shows the actual employment status of migrants. It can be observed that nearly 24 percent of female migrants are working as street vendors while male migrants engaged in the same activity are about 40 percent. The majority of female migrants (20 percent) work as helpers in factories, whereas 14 percent women are domestic servants and others in personal business. Also some migrant women work as secretaries, domestic servants, machine operators, helpers in factories and hair salons. For males, a significant proportion are engaged (40.4%) in street vending and (21.2%) in personal business. Very few (1.0%) worked as domestics.

Number of Jobs during the Last One Year

The study sought to establish the extent of permanency in activities which migrants of both sexes were doing. Table 6 summarizes the results.

Table 6: Percent Distribution of Number of Jobs during the last one Year

Category of job	2009				2010				2011			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
One job	Migrants	Non migrants	Migrants	Non migrants	Migrants	Non migrants	Migrants	Non migrants	Migrants	Non migrants	Migrants	Non migrants
		80.0	78	85	77	77.0	77	82	76.5	88.3	86.1	84.4
Two or more jobs	5.9	6.1	3.4	6.8	5.0	8.6	3.3	9.5	1.2	2.7	11.2	10.8
No response	14.1	15.9	11.6	16.2	18.0	14.4	14.7	14	10.5	11.1	4.4	7.6

Source: Gendered Migration Survey, Mwanza 2011

Table 6 gives an idea on the number of jobs a woman is engaged in at the same time. It can be observed that during 2009 to 2011, the majority of migrants had only one job, whereas there are some migrants who had two or more than two jobs and some migrants didn't give any response about their job status. This means the majority of migrants were happy to stay in the same job even though their income may not have necessarily been sufficient for which they didn't opt for the second or third job.

Table 7: Percent Distribution of Time Period Work in a Particular Job during 2009 - 2011

Time period	2009				2010				2011			
	Males		Females		Males		Females		Males		Females	
	Migrants	Non migrants	Migrants	Non migrants	Migrants	Non migrants	Migrants	Non migrants	Migrants	Non migrants	Migrants	Non migrants
Throughout the year	91.5	90.2	94.2	92.2	92.0	90.0	93.4	89	94.4	93.2	91.1	88.7
Some months	2.7	1.8	3.2	3.7	5.3	4.7	4.3	4.1	4.7	4.4	3.3	4.6
Some days	5.8	8	2.6	4.1	2.7	5.3	2.3	6.9	0.9	2.4	5.6	6.7

Source: Gendered Migration Survey, Mwanza 2011

Time Period in a Particular Job

Table 7 explains the time/period of work in a particular job. It is very interesting to observe that more than 90 percent of migrants were working throughout the year in the same job, whereas there were also women who worked for few months and days in the same job. The figures indicate that the migrants were satisfied with their employment.

The study has also established that female migrants tend to find employment earlier than males (mainly in the informal sector) due to their willingness to accept lower wages.

Employment and Income

Employment and income are the two important aspects which assist in understanding the urban informal sector. Table 8 presents the average daily income in terms of T.shs of migrants during 2009 to 2011 as well as their income per hour. In 2009 the average daily income of migrants was T.shs 1500/=, whereas at the same year the average income per hour was T.shs 120/=. After the year 2009 the average daily income of migrants reflects an increasing trend including their per hour income. In 2011 the average earning of male migrant was T.shs 7,000/= and for the female migrant is 6000/=. From Table 8 it is clearly observed that the daily income of migrants in the informal sector maintains a more or less stable trend with some positive growth.

Table 8: Percent Distribution of Migrants and Non Migrants by Sex and by their Daily Income and Income per Hour (T.Shs) During 2009 - 2011

Years	Males				Females			
	Migrants		Non migrants		Migrants			
	Daily income	Income per hour	Daily income	Income per hour	Daily income	Income per hour	Daily income	Income per hour
2009	1450/=	120/=	1500/=	125/=	1350/=	115/=	1400/=	120/=
2010	3400/=	300/=	3800/=	320/=	2400/=	200/=	2500/=	210/=
2011	7000/=	600/=	8,000/=	700/=	6000/=	500/=	7000/=	600/=

Source: Gendered Migration Survey, Mwanza 2011

On the other hand, Table 9 shows that migrants in the informal sector have years of experience. This is mainly due to a good income in the informal sector as well as availability of little opportunities in the formal sector as well as their lack of preparation to enter the formal sector.

Table 9: Percent Distribution of Migrants by Sex and by Years of Experience in the Informal Sector during 2008-2011

Duration	2008		2009		2010		2011									
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female								
	Migrants	Non	Migrants	Non	Migrants	Non	Migrants	Non								
0-4	6.8	5.9	4.4	3.3	9.2	8.8	6.5	6.3	8.8	7.6	6.6	5.6	4.9	7.6	6.6	5.5
5-9	15.0	16.4	12.3	9.6	11.0	12.3	11.6	10.2	8.0	8.9	6.7	9.7	11.0	10.6	9.8	8.9
10-14	22.2	25.1	15.2	13.7	19.0	15.4	14.4	15.9	23.9	17.7	16.4	17.7	24.0	20.8	18.6	22.6
15+	56	52.6	68.1	73.4	60.8	63.5	67.5	67.6	59.3	65.8	70.3	67	60.1	61	65	63

Source: Gendered Migration Survey, Mwanza 2011

Access to Assets

Comparing access to assets before and after migration shows migrant vendors have improved their financial and human capital assets by getting better access to physical and political capital assets than before. However, with limited access to physical, financial and political capitals, these migrants have to depend on natural and social capitals for their

livelihoods. Results of the study show a significant access to assets and owning property for female migrants. In a focus group discussion, some participants said: My coming to Mwanza city has enabled me to acquire assets which I would probably not have had I not decided to migrate to this city. Now I have a food stall which contributes more to my upkeep (A Young Female Participant, Female FGD).

Gender Differentials in Livelihoods of Urban Migrants

This sub-section intended to evaluate the impact of rural-urban migration on livelihood for female and male migrants in Mwanza City. It tried to investigate if migration is beneficial, in terms of increases in earnings, for female and male migrants in Tanzania. People are pursuing internal migration as a way of survival strategy among others to create livelihoods in the urban informal sector. In this context the study explored increasing rural-urban migration, increase in the informal sector activities and how that impacts on people's livelihood in the urban areas of Mwanza City.

Migration is increasingly recognized as a key element of livelihood strategies - in many cases overlapping with the diversification of income sources. Livelihoods strategies are largely based on access to assets, which is itself mediated by economic, socio-cultural and political normative systems which reflect evolving power relations between different groups. As a result, strategies may lead to the accumulation of assets and more secure livelihoods, or only ensure the survival of those who undertake them.

Research on livelihood strategies usually takes the household as the unit of analysis. Attention was given to migrants' household members' access to and decision making power over the use of household resources and assets. This brings in a more nuanced understanding of the ways in which livelihood strategies contribute to - or undermine - the wellbeing of individuals within the household unit. In Mwanza City, using participatory tools mainly wealth ranking, results show that they all (both sexes) put themselves in the lowest wealth ranking.

A question on the implications of migrants and non migrants' occupations in the city for their livelihood security was also asked for comparison purposes. Based on this, respondents were asked what were their first, second and third occupations. Then they were asked what proportion of their time they would spend on average for each occupation over one year, and what proportion of their income was derived from each occupation. In many cases, the second and third occupation was reported the most important. This result is an indication

that migrants households in the city depend on more than one source of livelihood even though the majority indicated to stay in one occupation. In other words, while the breadwinner was engaged in one main occupation as discussed, the members of the household performed other economic activities to supplement their livelihood. This aspect was more apparent to female migrant households than to their counterparts.

An intra-household matrix developed by the Tanzanian researchers was applied. This is a simple instrument which helps visualize clearly the relationship between household division of labour, access to and ownership of decision making over household resources, and migration patterns. The calculated rankings were drawn up in the form of pictorial charts and presented to the respondents at feedback meetings. Results showed a large difference in attitudes and in appropriate ranking procedures. It is likely that the depth of respondents' knowledge of the well-being of male migrants and female migrants affected the criteria and accuracy of the wealth ranking exercises.

Findings further indicate that the present livelihood activities of migrants are a factor of their pre-migration local environmental context and the current environmental conditions in Mwanza City which are both influenced by broader scale socioeconomic processes. Their livelihoods are characterized by low income and sometimes below subsistence. The research findings make evident that gender ideologies affect the strategies of men and women migrants due to gender differential in access to resources and the utilization of resources.

This study also shows that street vending is an opportunity to new urban migrants for making a living in the urban areas. The livelihoods of migrant vendors irrespective of sex, as compared with their previous occupations, have increased after getting involved in the street vending. However, results indicate the extent of earning power differentials by sex and educational attainment levels. Male migrants with a slightly higher education have significantly higher levels of earning power compared to females in similar circumstances thus fulfilling the hypothesis that the migration effect on income is greater for men than for women in Mwanza City.

Gender Differential Impacts of Socio-economic Behaviour of Migrants in the Urban Areas on their Areas of Origin

Table 10 presents participation data in areas of origin and ownership of property. While male migrants have a house in their areas of origin (6.1) percent, female migrants have fewer houses. They only account for 4.0 percent. Below is a summary of migrants' involvement in areas of origin.

Table 10: Participation in Area of Origin Activities by Sex

Type of participation	Males		Females	
	Migrants N = 99	Non Migrants N = 101	Migrants N = 101	Non migrants N = 99
Belongs to hometown organizations	35 (35.4)	-	41 (40.6)	-
Has house in hometown	6 (6.1)	-	4 (4.0)	-
Has other property in hometown	18 (18.2)	-	19 (18.8)	-
Has property elsewhere	23 (23.2)	-	13 (12.9)	-
Contributes to hometown activities	3 (3.0)	-	6 (5.9)	-
Income remittance	14 (14.4)	-	18 (17.8)	-

Percentages are in brackets

Source: Gendered Migration Survey, Mwanza 2011

To judge by the data presented here, it appears that women migrants participate - to a limited degree, in activities in their areas of origin. Relatively few have contributed to local projects. However, this data must be viewed in terms of who these women migrants are in the sample. They have relatively low levels of education, and they work in occupations primarily petty trade and domestic service. Moreover, these are the type of women who do not have money for acquiring property. This is because they come from exploitative, insecure work, as is often the case for young women working in bars, in sex work and even as domestic workers. However, it is worth mentioning here that almost universally women send home a higher proportion of their incomes than male migrants. The survey revealed 17.8 percent for women migrants as against 14.4 percent for male migrants and this increases their vulnerability (for example, by living in cheap and often insecure accommodation and foregoing health checks and medical treatment).

Findings from a focus group discussion indicate that female migrants have a weaker participation rate in their places of origin but in contrast, they have a strong attachment. Among those who are migrants and participated in the discussion, all report that they regularly visit their places of origin or hometowns.

We are just visitors here, whereas our place of emphasis is at home, attachment to home is always there (A Young Female Participant, Female FGD).

Even though their degree of involvement in hometown development is not visible as compared to male migrants, this could be attributed to their low earnings, something which is attached to their socio-economic

status. They participate in a range of activities at home mainly through their remittances and some take leadership roles in organizations that they are involved. Such organizations are mainly rotating savings and credit associations (ROSCAs).

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The study had set out to determine gender differentials in migration in relation to employment absorption in the urban informal sector. The main finding here has been that most of the female migrants do not possess good educational preparation; it is difficult for them to get an employment in the formal sector. The majority is engaged in informal sector activities while male migrants besides performing activities which are also in the informal sector, some have managed to climb the ladder and get absorbed in the formal sector. The polarization of employment opportunities for female migrants can only be addressed by providing females with more education. There is therefore a need to provide more educational opportunities to women so that they can be competitive in the labour market.

As regards assessment of gender differential changes among migrants on access to assets before and after migration to Mwanza City, results have shown that female migrants increase their capacity to access and own physical properties and control them independently when they migrate to urban centres. This development minimizes the disparity between the sexes. Migration - regardless of sex, provides for more autonomy and access to assets and property and thus increases freedom not only to themselves but also to their households.

Remarks on the assessment of gender differential changes in the livelihoods of migrants are that despite their low income, female migrants increase their capacity to lead a better life in the same way as male migrants do since they access more resources and have freedom of utilization of those resources. Despite staying in one particular occupation for a longer time, they also get the advantage of engaging their members of their households in other economic activities so that they have more sources of earning money for their upkeep.

Finally, socio-economic impacts of urban migrants upon their areas of origin have shown that although female migrants do not feature much in development projects being executed in their areas of origin, they are good in terms of remittances which helps in meeting household expenses such as school fees, clothing, buying of cattle and expansion of farms. It is recommended that governments should condone female

migration as it empowers them sometimes even more than male migrants.

References

- Adepoju, A. and Mbugua, W. 1993 "The complexity of studying population dynamics in Africa." Commissioned paper conference on Population Reconsidered, Dakar, pp. 1-5.
- Bagachwa, M.S.D. 1995 "Informal sector under Adjustment in Tanzania." in Msambichaka et al (Eds), Beyond Structure Adjustment Program in Tanzania. Success, Failure and New Perspectives, Dar es Salaam, ERB
- Bhattacharya, P.C., 1993 Rural-urban migration in economic development. *Journal of Economic Surveys*. 7(3), pp. 243-281.
- Bienefeld, M. 1975 "The Informal Sector and Peripheral Capitalism: The Case of Tanzania." In IDA Bulletin vol.6, no.3 (Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex), pp.53-73.
- Deshpande, L.K., 1983 "Urban labour markets: problems and policies." In Austin Robison et al, eds., *Employment Policy in a Developing Country: A case study of India*, Vol 1. Macmillan, London, pp. 83-92.
- Fields, G.S. 1975 Rural-urban migration, urban unemployment and underemployment and job- search activity in LDCs. *Journal of Development Economics*, 2(2), pp. 165-187.
- Fields, G.S. 1976 Lifetime Migration in Columbia: Test of the Expected Income Hypothesis. *Population and Development Review*, 5(2), pp. 247-265.
- International Labour Organisation, 1972, *Employment, Incomes and Equality: A strategy for Increasing Productive Employment in Kenya*. ILO, Geneva.
- Kathuri, N.J. and Pals, D.A. 1993 *Introduction to Environmental Research*, Egerton University, Njoro.
- Knight, J. and L. Song, 1966 *Chinese Peasant Choices: Farming, Rural Industry or Migration*. Oxford Applied Economics Discussion Paper Series, No. 188, October.
- Knight, J., L. Song and J. Huaibin, 1999 Chinese Rural Migrants in Urban Enterprises: Three Perspectives. *Journal of Development Studies*, 35(3), pp. 73-104.
- Lewis Arthur W. 1954. Economic Development with Unlimited supplies of Labour. *The Manchester School*, 22(2), pp. 139-191.
- Liviga, A.J. and Rugatiri D.K. Mekacha 1998 Youth migration and poverty alleviation: a case study of petty traders (wamachinga) in Dar es salaam; Research Report No. 98.5

- Macharia, K. 1997 *Social and Political Dynamics of the Informal Economy in African Cities*, New York: University Press of America,
- Marris. P. & A. Somerset 1971 *African Businessmen: A study of Entrepreneurship and Development in Kenya*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul
- Masanja, G. F. 2010 "Migration and Female Empowerment in Mwanza City, Tanzania." PhD Thesis, Open University of Tanzania (Unpublished).
- Mazumdar, D. 1976 "The rural-urban wage gap, migration and the shadow-wage." *Oxford Economic Papers*, 28(3), pp. 406-425.
- Mazumdar, D. 1977 Analysis of the dual labour market in LDCs. In S. Kannapan, (Ed), 1977 *Studies in Urban Labour Market Behaviour in Developing Areas*. ILO Geneva, International Institute for Labour Studies.
- Mbonile, M.J. 1993. "Migration and Structural Change in Tanzania: The Case of Makete District." PhD Thesis, University of Liverpool.
- Mwagani, E. 1991. "The components of Urban Population Growth in Mbeya Municipal in Mbeya Region, Tanzania." University of Dar es Salaam MA Dissertation
- O'Connor, A. 1988. The Rate of Urbanization in Tanzania in the 1978. In Hodd, M. (Ed.). *Tanzania after Nyerere*. London: Pinter Publishers, 136-142.
- Omari C.K. 1989 "Rural women, informal sector and household economy in Tanzania." *World Institute for Development Economics Research*, Helsinki, pp 1-75
- Sayaka, O. 2006 "'Earning among Friends': Business Practices and Creed among Petty Traders in Tanzania." *African Studies Quarterly* 9, no.1 & 2.
- Shah, Nasra M. and Sulayman Al-Qudsi. 1990 "Female Work Roles in a Traditional, Oil Economy: Kuwait." *Research in Human Capital and Development Series* vol. 6 (1990):213.
- Shah, N. M., & Smith, P. C. (1984). Migrant women at work in Asia. In J. T. Fawcett, S.-E. Khoo, & P. C. Smith (Eds.), *Women in the cities of Asia: Migration and urban adaptation*. Colorado: Westview Press.
- Todaro, M.P. 1969 A model of labour migration and urban unemployment in less developed countries, *American Economic Review*, 59(1), pp. 138-148
- Tripp, A. M. 1997. *Changing the Rules: the Politics of Liberalization and Urban Informal Economy in Tanzania*, London; University of California Press

- Tripp, A. M & M. Swantz. 1997 What went right in Tanzania: People's Response to Directed Development, Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press,
- Williams, G. 1981 "Primitive Accumulation: The Way to Progress?" In Development and Change, Vol. 18, pp.637-65