

THE EFFECTS OF RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION ON FEMALE EMPOWERMENT: AN EXPERIENCE FROM MWANZA CITY COUNCIL IN TANZANIA

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ABSTRACT

The main objective of the study was to examine the effects of rural-urban migration on women empowerment in Mwanza City. The study problem is that while progress has been made in empowering women in urban areas through outmigration, this chance has not been fully investigated. The conceptual framework used a modified version of Mabogunje's Systems Approach to a Theory of rural-urban migration which shows that migration changes women into urbanites which empowers them to make progress decision in livelihood. Quantitative and qualitative data collection methods were used. 385 female respondents were included in the survey. The dependent women's empowerment variable was measured against thirteen independent demographic and socio-economic variables. Descriptive, bivariate and logistic models were used for testing. The findings pertaining to the first objective were that age, marital status, education, life dissatisfaction, pressure by friends and or family members, and endemic poverty were key determinants of migration and empowerment. Activities of female migrants in towns formed the second objective of the study. The findings showed that women's activities are mainly of the informal economy and form the new labour source of migrants. The third objective was on female empowerment. Variables mainly education of girls, contribution to family income, ownership of economic resources, mobility freedom, awareness of human rights and domestic decision making, showed a significant positive relationship with women

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empowerment. The impact of female migrants' empowerment on rural-urban linkages was the fourth objective. The findings were that visitations and advice-seeking patterns, ownership of rural property, participation in economic and social activities and remittances formed the fulcrum. Empowered female migrants rendered positive impact to their rural homes. The general policy implication is that policy makers should understand female migration to urban centres as not only a survival strategy but impacts on women's life by contributing to their empowerment.

Key Words: Rural – Urban, Migration, Female and Empowerment

1.0 Introduction

Rural women in Tanzania are still affected by problems of poverty, marginalization, unemployment, exclusion from decision making and effects of the African society which enhance the inferior status of women. These manifold obstacles, among others, hinder them from achieving self-fulfillment and consequently are claimed to trigger rural-urban movement. The past three decades have witnessed a steadily increasing awareness of the need to empower women through measures that increase social, economic and political equity and broader access to fundamental human rights and education, UNGA, (2005). One of the most significant changes in the pattern of internal population movements in recent years is the feminization of migration. Autonomous migrant females seem to increase particularly in urban centers' because of an increase in women's empowerment. There are clear indications of this phenomenon not only in Africa but also in Tanzania.

Several studies indicate that migration in many parts of Africa was dominated by males, (Gugler, 1969; Prothero, 1968, 1985). The approach in the literature views women not as free decision makers for migration but rather as followers of men, being dependent on the decisions made by their husbands. The situation is nevertheless changing. There is growing evidence that most women are moving on their own. In recognition of this trend, the World Bank has identified empowerment as one of the key constituent elements of poverty reduction, and as a primary development goal (World Bank, 2001a).

Many developing countries including Tanzania have also identified women's empowerment and gender equality as a development objective in itself, and as a means to promote growth, reduce poverty and promote better governance. Tanzania has explicitly instituted women empowerment and gender equality especially in its various institutions. Empowerment has the capacity to offer economic opportunities and decision making power. Empowerment of women in the migration process entails increased participation of women in migration decisions. Empowerment has now been a significant facilitating factor for female migration. However, in many Tanzania societies, in spite of overall feminization of migration movements, the obstacles and restrictions to women's mobility still persist.

The situation of female migrants in urban areas is not encouraging. Unemployment rates for them are higher than for men. They tend to be employed in sex segregated occupations that are generally informal and unregulated. Moreover, a disproportionate burden of poverty is still borne by them and the majority lack support to micro enterprise and access to mainstream financial services (Adepoju, 1987).

This study is, therefore, based on the argument that unless women's participation in the rural-urban migration process and access to economic resources is empowered by the social, migration policies and judicial capacity, their inferior status enshrined in the society will persist. Likewise, poverty will continue to become feminized and their contribution to development both in their places of destination and origin will be limited.

2.0 Materials and Methods'

2.1 Study area

The study was conducted in Mwanza City council; Mwanza is the second largest city after Dar es Salaam in Tanzania. It is located in north western Tanzania on the southern shore of Lake Victoria. It is situated between the Latitude 2o15' – 2o45' just South and the Equator and between Longitude 32o45' and 33o00' East URT; (2008). It lies at an altitude of 1,140 meters above sea level. It covers an area of 1325 square kilometers of which 425 is dry land and 900 are covered by water. Mwanza city is characterized by low-lying areas surrounded by hills granite

protruding rock inselbergs. The city had a population of 2,772,509 people (National Census, 2012), the majority of whom are low and medium income earners. Its present annual population growth rate is 3.0 percent average.

2.2 Research Design and Sampling Procedures

The study utilized a combination of two research designs. Both cross-sectional and causal-comparative design was used. An attempt was done to find out differences in certain variables under investigation prior and after their migration to the area of destination in order to provide empirical explanations.

In drawing a sample from the target population, the inferences made about the population characteristics by using probability sampling design. This study utilized a multistage sampling design in which the population divided into naturally occurring ecological zones herein after the ward which are mainly inhabited with low and medium income people in the city. An appropriate sample size of 400 was employed in the study.

2.2.1 Data Collection and Analysis

Primary data were captured through interviews with respondents using semi-structured questionnaires, while checklist was used to collect information during focus group discussion with the key informants. In addition, Secondary data were obtained from respective offices, Mwanza city council, Ministerial level, books and published and unpublished documents. The collected data was analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) program. In particular, descriptive statistics were used to analyze the data. In particular, descriptive statistics were used to calculate frequency and percentages. Univariate and bivariate statistical techniques used to generate descriptive statistics on female non-migrants, and rural-urban female migrants. Cross tabulations and frequency distributions were also used for descriptive data that required comparing variables. Associations between relevant independent and dependent variables assessed for female migrants and non-migrants separately by using χ^2 tests, Pearson correlation coefficients and odds ratios from binary logistic regression models. The computer software called Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) version 12.0 used to perform the statistical analysis.

3. 0 Findings, Discussions and Recommendations'

Table 1 shows the variables investigated in this section were birthplace, age, educational level, marital status, household structure, household size, occupation before migrating to Mwanza city, professional training, occupation by education, husband's educational level, husband's occupation, and other sources of income as follows;

Table 1 Age Distribution of Female Respondents by Category

Female urban migrants			Female urban non-migrants	
Age group	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
0-4	-	-	-	-
5-9	-	-	-	-
10-14	-	-	-	-
15-19	13	6.8	7	3.6
20-24	41	21.4	36	18.8
25-29	67	35.0	52	27.0
30-34	19	9.9	50	26.1
35-39	8	4.0	19	9.9
40-44	18	9.4	10	5.2
45-49	8	4.2	7	3.7
50-54	7	3.6	6	3.1
55-59	5	2.6	5	2.6
60-64	4	2.1	-	-
65-69	-	-	-	-
70-74	2	1.0	-	-
75-79	-	-	-	-
Total	192	100	192	100

Table 1 reveals that, the female migrant respondents were slightly older than their counterparts (non-migrants).

Table 2: Mean Ages of Respondents

Birthplace	Mean	N	Std Deviation	Chi-square value	
				Observed	Expected
Mwanza	29.76	192	8.077		
Elsewhere	31.78	192	10.704	10.98	11.07
Total	30.77	384	9.523		

Table 2 reflects a calculated value of 10.98 against the tabulated value of 11.07 at 5 degrees of freedom and 0.005 level of significance. The implication of these statistics is that, the age difference in these two categories of respondents was insignificant since the calculated value of the rest was less than the table value. It seems that migrant females participate more in migration when they are in their 20s partly due to the fact that the majority of them are primary school leavers, unmarried and therefore flock to urban centres in search for employment and other amenities.

Table 3: Marital status – Migrant and Non-Migrant Females

	Migrants		Non-migrants		Chi-square value	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Observed	Expected
Single	17	8.9	23	12	6.74	11.07
Married	140	72.9	123	64.1		
Divorced	15	7.8	26	13.5		
Widowed	9	4.7	5	2.6		
Separated	4	2.1	6	3.1		
Cohabiting	7	3.6	9	4.7		
Total	192	100.0	192	100.0		

When the Chi-square test was run on the above statistics, the results in table 3 indicated that, there was no statistically significant difference between the two categories of respondents because the calculated value was less than the table value. The calculated value was 6.74 against 11.07 at 5 degrees of freedom and 5 percent level of significance. In the context of these results,

married migrant females were found in all age categories. However, it is apparent that, married female were a majority of the 25-34 and 35-44 age groups. These were those who married in rural areas and later moved together to Mwanza city. It is therefore imperative that they moved with their families.

The size of the group of women who were unmarried (young unmarried women and adult unmarried), separated and divorced accounted for 23.5 percent and emerged second to the married among the female migrants. The unmarried women who were found primarily in the 15-24 age group, together with the divorced who were found primarily in the age of 25-34 and 35-44 and the separated/widowed who were found primarily in the 45-54 age group altogether constituted a significant migrant group to Mwanza city.

At the first level of analysis, households of the core group and of the control group were divided into simple and complex. Simple units consisted of husband, wife and culture; husband-wife units; women living alone; and mother and child units. A complex unit consisted of a simple unit plus other relatives who divided into 3 broad categories: (1) Complex patrilineal that included husband's mother, father, brother and sister. (2) Complex matrilineal involved women's mother, father, sister and brother and (3) Complex mixed involved wife's line (such as niece, nephew) and another who was related to the husband's line.

Table 4: Distribution of Respondents by Household Category

Household status	Female urban migrants	Female urban non-migrants	Chi-square value	
			Observed	Expected
Women headed	45 (23.4%)	60 (31.3%)		
Husband-wife	95 (49.5%)	118 (61.4%)	26.4	7.82
Paternal and maternal extended	39 (20.3%)	11 (5.7%)		
Mixed	13 (6.8%)	3 (1.6%)		
Total	192 (100.0%)	192 (100.0%)		

Table 4 depicts that; women-headed households among the control group were more than those for the core group (31.3 percent for female non-migrants and 23.4 percent among female migrants) although there is an indication that woman headed households among the female migrants are on the increase. Women-headed households were most common among the control group and were mainly widows and children. The percent (61.4 percent) of husband-wife households among the control group indicates the characteristic nuclear family size norm more prevalent in urban centres perhaps owing to insufficient living rooms and resources to keep extended families. Women-headed households among the core group consisted mainly of the divorced, widow and separated that lived with unmarried children. Husband-wife households category in the core group scooped (49.5) percent. The main reason is that women who marry leave their rural are of origin and settle with their husbands in urban centers. Other women come to the city to stay with a married daughter.

The chi-square test reveals that, there was a statistically significant association between complex households and female migration since the calculated value (26.4) was greater than the table value (7.84) at 3 degrees of freedom and 5 percent level of significance thus confirming the assertion that most migrants to urban areas join existing households.

Household size was examined by wards, income, occupation, marital status and place of origin (rural/urban).

Table 5: Average Household Sizes by Ward

District	Ward	Mean Household Size
Nyamagana	Igogo	6.1
	Pamba	5.2
	Mirongo	4.7
	Mbugani	4.9
Ilemela	Kirumba	4.3
	Kitangiri	6.0
	Pasiansi	6.1
	Nyamanoro	4.3

Table 5 shows the comparison of the data and indicates that there was a variation in household size across the wards. Among the 8 wards studied, Pasiansi and Igogo had the highest average household size (6.1 each) as it is evidenced herein above.

Table 6: Frequency Distribution by Household Size and Composition

	Household size $\mu=5.8; \sigma=1.8$		Children <5 years $\mu=0.5; \sigma=0.7$		Children <5 years $\mu=1.4; \sigma=1.3$		Non-head adults $\mu=0.7; \sigma=1.1$	
Female migrants	Category	%	Category	%	Category	%	Category	%
	1	9.2	0	42.6	0	32.5	0	62.5
	2	5.8	1	27.2	1	11.1	1	17.5
	3	18.7	2	13.0	2	24.0	2	11.1
	4	23.0	3	9.3	3	25.8	3	5.9
	5	27.7	>3	7.9	4	4.3	4	2.0
	6	12.2			>4	2.3	>4	1.0
	>6	3.5						
		100.0		100.0		100.0		
Non migrants	Household size $\mu=4.6; \sigma=1.2$		Children <5 years $\mu=0.4; \sigma=0.6$		Children <5 years $\mu=1.2; \sigma=1.1$		Non-head adults $\mu=0.4; \sigma=0.3$	
	Category	%	Category	%	Category	%	Category	%
	1	15.2	0	60.4	0	41.6	0	74.1
	2	5.4	1	6.9	1	10.4	1	12.7
	3	26.8	2	25.4	2	24.0	2	8.2
	4	29.7	3	4.1	3	19.2	3	3.7
	5	18.1	>3	3.2	4	3.2	4	0.8
	6	3.0			>4	1.6	>4	0.5
	>6	1.8						
		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0

Table 6 reveal that Over two-thirds of the core group households had a child between 5 and 17 present in the household. The extended nature of Tanzania households is evidenced by the fact that 38 percent of the core group households had at least one other adult present in the household. Approximately 25 percent of these households had 5 or more members. As regard non-migrant households, about 40 percent of female non-migrant had at least one child under age of 5 in the household. The table also indicates that 58.4 percent of the control group households had a child between 5 and 17 present in the household. Results further show that 25.9 percent of the households of the control group had at least one other adult. About a quarter of control group households had 3 or more members. Comparison of the survey data indicates smaller household sizes of the control group households and a corresponding smaller number of additional adults living in the households. Larger household size was evident for the core group households as opposed to the control group households. This could be attributed to the consequence of having a larger number of children and additional adults. In terms of size, migrant households are on average larger, with on average 5 household members, than non-migrant households, which have no average 4 household members.

Table 7: Average Household Sizes by Income Group

Income group of household	Mean household size	AE size	AE migrants in household
Poorest 25% of household	6.1	4.2	1.2
Second poorest group	5.9	4.0	1.0
Second richest group	4.9	4.0	0.9
Richest 25% of household	3.9	3.5	0.7
Overall	5.2	4.0	1.0

The results in table 7 reveal that, those households which have higher values of adult equivalent scales have more household members. These are the ones which are poor. They are also the ones which send to the town and receive a relatively significant number of migrants as compared to households with smaller families. The second richest group indicated to have had the capacity to send to the town or receive more migrants than the poorest group. The richest (25 percent) group who live a more lucrative life appeared not to send nor receive many migrants. In the same

manner, wards that had average household sizes which were higher than the overall average were receiving a higher number of migrants.

Table 8: Female Migrants' Occupations before Migration

	Migrants	
	Frequency	Percentage
None	25	13.0
Farmer	141	73.5
Business	15	7.8
Employed	1	0.5
Other	10	5.2
Not applicable	-	-
Total	192	100

Table 8 shows the highest proportion of these female migrants was farmers (73.5 percent) before migration, followed by 13.0 percent who had no specific work to perform. Most of these dependents and that were either school girls or were under the custody of their parents or guardians. The employed formed the minority (0.5 percent) and most of these are government workers such as teachers and health workers.

Table 9: Percent Distribution of Professional Training Among Female Migrants and Non-Migrants

	Attended professional training				Total	Percent	Chi-square value	
	Yes	Percent	No	Percent			Observed	Expected
Female migrants	31	16.1	161	83.9	192	100.0	2.366	7.815
Female non-migrants	43	22.4	149	77.6	192	100.0		

Table 9 reveal that, the largest proportion of the respondents consists of the control group (22.4 percent) who had been trained in different trades to enable them get on with some income generating activities while only 16.1 percent of their counterparts had undergone such training. It is evident from the results that the majority of both groups appear not to have received any professional training. However, among these two groups, the largest proportion was that of female migrants who constituted 83.9 percent while the non-migrants accounted for 77.6 percent. There is a big difference in terms of training in professional activities among these two groups of respondents. The most susceptible ones are the urban female migrants.

A Chi-square test was used to ascertain this difference and the result was that the calculated value was 2.366 against the tabulated value of 7.815 at 3 degrees of freedom and 0.05 level of significant association between the two attributes since the calculated value was less than the table value. A bivariate analysis was done. The Pearson product moment correlation coefficient was calculated and the result obtained was $r = -1.00$ which according to direction it indicates that there is a negative correlation between professional training and residence. The female migrants appear to have perhaps been neglected in terms of being trained in income generating activities.

Conclusion

People migrating to the urban areas have continued to do so even when the hopes of getting “white or blue collar jobs were vanishing” mainly because of the new hope derived from participating in the informal economy. Various authors had argued that, the rural areas and cities alike would discourage the migrants from leaving the rural areas to the towns. Cities too, would reject the migrants due to lack of accommodation, employment and less social services. These control mechanisms may not necessarily apply. The modified model used by this study has shown that migrants do not necessarily move to urban centres in the hope of getting employment, and that the cities would reject them in case they fail to get employment. They usually go to towns to venture in an economic activity in the informal sector. Female migrants were migrating to the towns not so much of an expectation to find a job in a formal sector but instead to enter the urban informal economy.

Women’s educational preparation in the rural areas also has enabled them to acquire the minimum skills which have in turn made them become more competitive in the urban areas. This

has been possible because they have learned to utilize the women's social networks both in their places of origin and in destination places properly. These networks have helped the new female urbanites to acquire accommodation as well as income generating activities in the urban centres. It would therefore be hard for the rural control systems to curb rural outmigration caused by education.

There is a common belief that improved conditions in rural areas will reduce rural-urban migration and consequently reduce the growth of urban poverty. Based on this belief, many rural development interventions have been justified partially on the groups that they will reduce urban migration. What is remarkable about these attempts to control rural-urban migration through rural development and controls in urban areas is that they have been largely futile. Urbanization across Tanzania has increased regardless of attempts to slow it. This shows that rural development interventions have not properly empowered women to invest in the rural economies. Female migrants will continue to migrate to urban centres, thus circumventing the rural sub-control mechanisms.

The question of empowerment among out migrating rural females and its linkage to places of origin did not surface clearly. Development in areas of origin usually goes hand-in-hand with migration. The link between migration and development is seen to offer a virtuous circle which is very attractive. Migration contributes to development through various mechanisms, generally relying on the migrant maintaining links with the place of origin. As the economic conditions in the place of origin improve, it reduces the inequality existing between the places of origin and destination areas and provides new opportunities for people left at 'places of origin'. In this way, the flow of migrants to urban centres will slow down although it may not be curbed completely since mobility is human intrinsic. The linkages between migration and development of the places of origin as created by migrants may make sub-control mechanism less significant.

Recommendations

Remittances have some positive impact to the sending economies in rural areas of Tanzania and that circular female rural-urban migrants are potential agents of economic and social development in sending areas of rural Tanzania. If the massive rural-urban migration and

frequent flow of female circular migration will continue in Tanzania's modernization process, the link of rural-urban migration to the significant social change in rural Tanzania will be greater. As such, greater impacts of rural-urban migration on breaking the poverty vicious circle trapping many females are possible in rural Tanzania in the near future. The policy implication of this situation is that there is need to foster development interventions that will care female urban migrants since urbanization and poverty elimination are not contradictory to each other.

There is a need to consciously encourage females into the migration process; at the same time there is a need to develop similar interventions of entrepreneurial training in rural areas for rural females. This may be done by wide publicity of the potential of the facility in improving the welfare of participants and offering it to as many rural female as possible.

Increase female empowerment by taking deliberate steps and interventions that support the inclusion of informal workers in formal social protection institutions. Likewise, reducing institutional barriers may be the best strategy to enable rural migrants to succeed and contribute to rural development.

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