RURAL–URBAN MIGRATION IN THE CONTEXT OF BABATI TOWN, TANZANIA

– CAUSES AND EFFECTS ON POOR PEOPLES’ QUALITY OF LIFE

By: Johan Magnér
Supervisor: Adolphine Kateka
ABSTRACT

The objective of this research is to study peoples’ reasons for rural-urban migration in the Babati district of Tanzania and the outcomes of such a migration on the migrants’ quality of life in Babati town. This qualitative study is based on semi-structured interviews and secondary sources. The interviews were performed with poor people in urban Babati town and two villages in rural Babati district. In the last thirty years the population of Babati town has increased more than threefold. The causes of rural-urban migration to Babati town are to be found in economical, social and cultural factors. The economic predominate, with the search for employment mentioned by all the migrants in the study. The migrants in Babati town emphasized adequate housing as a very important factor for a good life in town. This need was in many cases not fulfilled. Many were also still lacking social services and could not afford to buy basic necessities. The greatest asset for the people who have moved to Babati town was the diverse market of employment. The benefits of living in Babati town seem to outnumber the problems for most of the urban migrants. For the villagers of Mutuka the greatest asset was good natural conditions for agriculture and livestock. In Magugu a great advantage was trade, the affordability of houses, food and necessary things. Due to differences of the dynamics of the two villages the people of Mutuka were more eager to move to Babati town than the inhabitants of Magugu. Small harvests and an insufficient market for farming products were great concerns as well as lack of social services.

Keywords: urbanization, agriculture, employment, social services, housing.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. **INTRODUCTION** ................................................................. 5  
   1.1 Purpose of the study ...................................................... 7  
   1.2 Research questions ..................................................... 7  
   1.3 Contribution of study .................................................. 7  

2. **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK** ........................................... 8  
   2.1 Urban growth and migratory patterns .................................. 8  
   2.2 Causes of rural-urban migration ........................................ 9  
   2.3 Effects of rural-urban migration on poor urban dwellers .......... 10  
   2.4 Urbanization and development ......................................... 11  

3. **METHOD** ..................................................................... 12  
   3.1 Empirical material ........................................................ 12  
      3.1.1 Limitations of method .............................................. 14  
   3.2 Secondary sources ......................................................... 15  
      3.2.1 Reliability and validity of secondary sources ............... 15  
      3.2.2 Delimitations of secondary sources ............................ 16  
   3.3 Structure of study ......................................................... 16  

4. **BACKGROUND** ............................................................... 17  
   4.1 The study area ............................................................ 17  

5. **RESULTS AND ANALYSIS** ............................................. 18  
   5.1 Urban interviews .......................................................... 18  
      5.1.1 The story of Rehema .............................................. 18  
      5.1.2 Reasons for migrating from a rural area to Babati .......... 18  
      5.1.3 Important factors for life in Babati ............................. 20  
      5.1.4 Disadvantages in Babati ......................................... 21  
   5.2 Rural interviews ........................................................... 23  
      5.2.1 Disadvantages in Magugu and Mutuka .................... 23  
      5.2.2 Advantages in Magugu and Mutuka ........................... 24
5.2.3 Differences in Magugu and Mutuka……………………………… 25
5.3 Integrating analysis…………………………………………………… 25

6. DISCUSSION……………………………………………………………… 27

7. CONCLUSIONS………………………………………………………… 28

8. REFERENCES……………………………………………………………… 30

Appendix 1 - Main interview questions…………………………………… 32

Appendix 2 - The Babati migrants (B1-B8) answers to two questions on migration and needs …………………………………………………………..34
1. INTRODUCTION

The present process of urbanization in the countries of the South will inevitably change the lives for all people of these nations. Furthermore, the agglomeration of people in cities in developing countries will alter the conditions on earth and have an effect on all countries. The speed of urbanization that is taking place today is unprecedented in history. In this exciting or frightening, but foremost challenging era many issues on urbanization will determine the future of humanity (UNFPA 2007, p.1 & Flavin 2007, p.xxiii). This study will reflect some issues of the process of urbanization on a local level, where the individuals in Babati, a small town in Tanzania, are affected.

Urbanization is the shift from a rural to an urban society. This coincides with the industrial revolution, the change from an agrarian to an industrial society. Urbanization is an inseparable part of the industrial revolution. In the countries of the North the industrial revolution is complete. The states of the South are still in the process of industrializing their countries. The main cause to urbanization is the migration of people from the countryside to the cities (UNFPA 2007, p.1,6). Urbanization is a process and as such it is a transitory phenomenon. When the majority of the rural population have left the rural areas for the urban locations, the urbanization will eventually slow down and come to an end (Davis & Henderson 2003). Urban growth, which is the relative or absolute increase of the number of city citizens, might increase the urban population after the migratory processes have come to an end (UNFPA 2007, p. 1,6).

It has to be emphasized that the urbanization process that occurred in Europe and North America can not be replicated in the continents of the South. The conditions now are very different from then. The people of the countries today do not have a whole new continent to migrate to, as was the case when the Europeans migrated to North America. There are no continents to exploit for people or natural resources. There is a global market on trade, but this market is ruled by industrialized countries and in many fields prohibited to non modernized countries by laws and tariffs set by states and organizations of the industrialized countries (Warah 2005, p. 30-31).
Urbanization in different parts of the Southern hemisphere looks different. In South America urbanization is declining because it has been going on for many years and the majority of the population already live in cities. Asia, with countries with large populations like China and India, has the highest absolute number of rural populations. The rural – urban migration flows will contribute to great increases of the cities’ populations. Africa had the highest relative number of rural populations and the fastest urbanization process which means that the transformation of the countries of the continent will be most profound (UNFPA 2007). The greatest rural-urban migration in Africa is towards middle sized or small cities, like Babati in this study.

Tanzania’s urban areas were influenced by the British Town and Planning Ordinance of the late 1940’s. The British system was replicated. Since independence in 1961, there has been a wave of people moving to Dar es Salaam. At the same time urban areas were regarded as parasitic. The cities were thought to be inhabited by business people who profited on the rural areas. In the early post independence years, town councils were abolished. In 1957 only four percent of Tanzania’s population were urban (Mascarenhas 2000, p.60-64). In 1988 the urban population had risen to 18 percent. In the last population census from 2002 the urban mainland population (excluding Zanzibar) constituted 23 percent (The 2002 population and housing census). However, Mascarenhas, argues that the census underestimates the number of people. SIDA:s calculations from 1995 indicate that, already then, 24,4 percent of the population were urban (SIDA 1998). The UN Population Division (2005) estimates the Tanzanian urban population of 1990 to be 22 percent and of 2005 at 37,5 percent. Whatever the precise numbers, during the last decades the urbanization process, has been fast. Ngware (2000, p.8-9) points out that this fast rate of urbanization stresses the urban area’s possibility of delivering efficient social services. The outcome is an increasing urban poverty in terms of unemployment, poor social, physical and economic infrastructures. The villagization programme of the 1970s’ caused a large number of rural people to flee from the imposed social control and lack of resources to the cities. The town authorities responded in the unpopular manner, by returning the increasing number of migrants to the villages (Ngware 2000, p.9).

The national, regional and local processes of urbanization and migration can not be separated from globalization. In this era the global machinery dictates many of the conditions, but the ones affected are always individuals and the ones affected in the most severe ways are the
poor people in the developing countries. This is the story of some of these poor people living in the Babati district.

1.1 Purpose of the study
The objective of this research is to study peoples’ reasons for rural-urban migration in the Babati district of Tanzania and the outcomes of such a migration on the migrants’ quality of life in Babati town.

1.2 Research questions
What are the conditions of life like for the migrants in Babati town and the people of Magugu and Mutuka (two villages in the Babati district) concerning A) People’s greatest assets? B) People’s greatest concerns? Are there any differences of the views on migration between the people of Magugu and Mutuka? Why do villagers migrate to Babati? What do urban migrants consider important in their lives? Did the migration to Babati help the migrants to achieve what they considered important?

1.3 Contribution of study
As this study will show, urbanization, and for the case of Africa particularly urban-rural migration, will affect peoples’ quality of life in a number of ways. Knowledge of the outcomes of migration on quality of life is evident in order to understand the problems faced by people everyday. This study will highlight these problems. In order to work out strategies for coping with the difficulties this knowledge is a necessity. Also the benefits of migrating to an urban area and the disadvantages of living in a rural area are important to widen the understanding of the reasons to why people move. This can ease the predictions of where future migratory processes will come about. Thus, actions for urban planning can be done in time. Many studies have been done on migration, but to my knowledge, only one, by Muhandi in 1996, has concentrated on the reasons for migrating to Babati town. Some aspects of migration can be generalized and compared to other places of migration, but every location of migration has its’ specific features. This study will contribute both to knowledge by comparison of other studies on migration and to the rare knowledge of specific features of migration to Babati town. No other study has had the focus on poor migrants in Babati town. This research will give voice to some of these poor people. To grasp the whole picture of
rural-urban migration the rural areas also have to be analyzed. This study will provide such a broad perspective on the dynamics of migration.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Urbanization is a complex phenomenon with many dimensions. The developing countries affected by urbanization are many and each country has its own characteristics of urbanization (Gugler 1997, p. xv). The literature to covering this field is broad, from many different perspectives, focusing on different factors and on many different countries. It is an immense task to review all of these and all is not necessary for the understanding of this study. I will here describe general views about some of the factors connected to urbanization and rural-urban migration, which are of particular interest to this study. Thus, this will comprise an important theoretical framework that will help the understanding of the empirical material presented in the chapter of results and analysis.

2.1 Urban growth and migratory patterns

Urban populations grow because of rural-urban migration, natural increase of people in the cities and boundary adjustments to enclose former rural areas into urban areas (Kasarda & Crenshaw 1991, p. 474). About 60 percent of urban growth can be attributed to natural increase and 40 percent to migration (UNDESA 1985 in Kasarda & Crenshaw). In the beginning of urbanization, as in Africa south of Sahara, migration accounts for the major part of city growth.

Although the censuses of Babati have not separated migration from natural increase it is probable to assume that rural-urban migration accounts for a greater part of the towns’ population growth. It is one of those small (or middle sized) towns which are the aim of migration for most migrants in Africa south of Sahara. Babati town has also increased its’ boundaries enlargening rural areas. In these outskirt areas a dominant part of the migrants in this study was living.

Often there is not just one move but a series of moves. Many men migrate on their own. If they are able to get a steady job in the city they usually hold on to it for a long time. This could mean long periods of separation from their families. There is an increasing number of
men working in cities while their wives and children stay in their villages of origin. Recent research does indicate that in many places more women than men migrate to cities. This is a transition due to later marriage, reduced fertility and greater independence. Families that move to urban areas often keep strong ties to their village and sometimes will return and retire there. The village functions as a security to the precarious urban life. This could be called, life in a dual system (Gugler 1997, p.44-45).

Some of the migrants of this study match the pattern of several moves, to mainly other towns or cities like Dodoma, Arusha and Dar es Salaam, before reaching Babati. And Babati town was not the end of the road for some. Two of the male migrants stayed in Babati to work separated from their families in the village of origin. But they frequently went back to the villages to visit the families. The dual system, Gugler refers to, seems to exist also in Babati town.

2.2 Causes of rural – urban migration

The reasons why people migrate are complex. A number of push and pull factors have, however, been identified. Tonstöl (2000) lists push factors including overpopulation whereby people will end up with shortage of cultivable land, insufficient farm incomes because of failed harvests, debt repayments or government exaction, lack of social, medical and educational services or a degraded environment. Pull factors include better employment opportunities and higher salaries, access to medical service, water and sanitation and schools and the thought people are attracted by the “bright lights” of the city (Tonstöl et al 2000, p. 11-13).

One study of reason for migration to Babati town have been carried out by Muhandi. He indicated that more than half of the migrants had moved to town for employment reasons and the rest were in search of greater opportunities for survival, marriage and possibilities for agriculture (Muhandi 1996 cited in Mascarenhas 2000, p.68).

The push and pull factors mentioned by Tonstöl, do in most parts match the economical, social and cultural causes found in this study. Muhandis’ findings on employment as the most important reasons for migration is in accordance with the results of this study. Other reasons
like marriage were not given by any respondents of this study. A detailed picture of the migratory causes will be given in the results and analysis chapter.

Many researchers, like Becker & Morrison and Gugler, do agree that people migrate from rural to urban areas because of economic reasons. Better prospects of the urban economy is the main reason to why people migrate. Regions where people move from show lower incomes than regions moved to. Migration is based on a decision where rural and urban opportunities are compared. Migrants in search of employment are often young adults who are usually favoured in an urban labour market (Gugler 1997, p.43).

The economic reasons dominate in this study also. The rural areas of Mutuka and Magugu were economically inferior to Babati town. The new migrants of this study were, like Gugler points out, in search of employment and younger than forty years old.

2.3 Effects of rural - urban migration on poor urban dwellers

The urbanization in the South during the last four decades has resulted in a rapid increase of urban dwellers living in very poor conditions. In 1990 at least 600 million urban poor lived in homes that threatened their health and lives. (Hardoy & Satterthwaite 1997, p. 265). Inadequate sanitation and lack of clean water threaten their health. Limited access to healthcare is shown in high mortality rates. Malnutrition and hunger are great problems. Many lack adequate housing and are exposed to rain, heat and cold. The cost of housing takes up a large part of the urban poor’s budget. Many can not afford the expense and turn to squatting, illegal occupation of land, often in the unattractive outskirts of cities where the risks of eviction is smaller. The constructions of housing and social services place heavy demands on public resources (Gugler 1997, p.261-263).

In Babati town squatting is a rare phenomenon. Therefore the problems faced by the poor urban migrants of this study might not be as severe as those Gugler describes. However, many of the hardships of Babati migrants are the same, like lack of social services and inadequate housing. The most profound needs, found in this study, were of economical nature. These difficulties will be thoroughly dealt with in the section of results and analysis.
One consequence of the rapid urbanization that the countries of the South are undergoing is that the cities will have a surplus labour population. This labour force will continue to grow because of cities natural population increase and by rural-urban migration. This is called overurbanization when the “rural-urban migration leads to a misallocation of labour between the rural and the urban sectors, and rural-urban migration increases the cost of providing for a country’s growing population” (Gugler 1997, p. 114).

Although no statistics are given, a surplus labour population was not found in Babati town. People were busy working and not many were “wandering around” without occupation. The migrants of this study were all employed.

2.4 Urbanization and development

Urbanization and development are closely linked. Different development theories have been used to explain urbanization. These are the modernization theory, the urban bias approach, dependency theory and world system theories. Since these theories are more practicable in investigations of economic and political systems they will not be analyzed in this study which has a focus on the individual level. A few remarks on development, however, will be mentioned here.

Many economists believe urbanization is a consequence of successful economic development and of rural stagnation. This view is supported by the fact that many of the highest urbanization levels are in countries during periods of economic growth (Becker & Morrison 1997, p.91). However, Africa south of Sahara has witnessed the weakest economic growth of all developing regions between the years of 1985 and 2000. At the same time this region experienced the fastest levels of urbanization (Tonstöl et al 2000, p.17).

The topic of urban primacy has been debated in many comparative urban studies. Urban primacy is a condition where a single city or a few cities dominates others. This is viewed as a symptom of underdevelopment and a constraint to future development through adequate investments in small towns or rural areas (Kasarda & Crenshaw 1991, p. 471). In Tanzania the primate city is Dar es Saalam. It has had a rapid growth and financial and industrial investments are directed to the city where the economic activities are abundant (Mascharenhas 2000) Remote and small urban areas like Babati, will accordingly to urban
primacy theories, loose out to Dar es Saalam in the race for investments. This is no doubt the truth. But on the other side of the coin, as we shall see in the coming chapters, the development in Babati has resulted in the town becoming the primate town, not on a national level, but on a district- and even regional level.

There is a view of many researchers that there is an interdependence of rural and urban areas which is important for development in both regions. During the 1960’s the urban development was in focus to bring about national development in the South. When by the 1970’s became clear that these urban biased strategies failed, programmes for rural development were favoured (Baker & Pedersen 1992, p 11-12). One of these rural development programmes was the villagization programme in Tanzania. People who lived in scattered rural areas were forcefully pushed together in more densely populated villages. One of the villages affected by the villagization was Mutuka, which is an object of investigation later on in this study. In Lindbergs (1996) describes in his thesis how people in the outskirts of Mutuka were ordered to move into a concentrated area. Mutuka also became a subvillage of a neighbouring village called Mamire. The following years saw a failure in agricultural production which resulted in famines. Many people moved away from Mutuka during this period of time. Although there was a severe drought and at the same time the oil crises, the greatest blame for the disaster was due to the villagization programme for forcing people to areas they were not familiar with and not suited for their type of agriculture or pastoral use (Lindberg 1996). Neither did the rural programmes in other areas reach the anticipated results. In the 1980’s a shift began towards a view where urban and rural areas were not seen as separate areas for investigation and interventions (Baker & Pedersen 1992, p 11-12).

3. METHOD

This is a qualitative study based on interviews and secondary sources. The interviews have been performed through a case study in Babati District, Tanzania and the results from it have been compared to the literature in the field.

3.1 Empirical material
The empirical material was collected during a three week case study in Babati district, Tanzania. Fifteen interviews with altogether twenty two people, thirteen women and nine men
were carried out between March 5 and March 16 in 2008. Eight household interviews were performed with respondents living in Babati town. Four household interviews were done in the rural area of Babati district, three in the village of Mutuka and one in the village of Magugu. Two group interviews, one with three women and one with two men, were carried out in Mutuka. One group interview with two women and one man was done in Magugu. The household interviews were answered by either a man or a woman, but in two cases both the man and the woman gave answers. For simplicity one household is considered one respondent.

The interviews with people living in Babati district was used to get a people oriented perspective. In order to get comprehensive information semi-structured interviews were used. Because of time limits the choice of units was made on a non random basis. The characteristics of the population were adult, of both sexes and poor people. The greatest need for interventions is among poor people. The aim of this study is to gather information about poor peoples’ needs. The knowledge may serve as a base for the focus of future interventions. The poor people themselves have the greatest knowledge of their lives. Hence, to elucidate the poor people’s needs, the interviews are conducted with poor people. This method used is known as the Participatory Poverty Assessment and focuses on poor peoples’ perspectives and their participation. This procedure will capture the voice of the ones affected and is seen as an advantage to methods of asking secondary sources, like people of Non Governmental Organizations, aid agencies or government officials. All of the respondents in Babati had migrated to town from villages. Some as recently as a couple of weeks prior to the interview while others had lived in Babati for twenty years. The respondents were chosen by the local fieldguides/interpreters. They used their local knowledge to find respondents with the above mentioned characteristics. The interpreter chose poor people from his or her interpretation of who was poor. This subjective choice could give a population with a variety of poor levels. A better approach to find poor people, was to do a wealth-ranking, but because of the time limit this seemed to be the best option. The interviews were done with an interpreter interpreting the questions from English to Swahili and the respondents answered from Swahili to English. Altogether four different interpreters were involved in separate interviews. One interview, with a respondent from Babati, was done in English without an interpreter. The interviews lasted from 30 minutes to one hour, except for one interview that was almost two hours.
3.1.1 Limitations of method

Using the method of a semi structured in-depth interview was necessary in order to get answers that can not be reached with leading questions or in a questionnaire. However, there are implications concerning the empirical results with such a method. Answering the kind of questions that are asked in an in-depth interview, from a person you have never seen before, could make the respondent become reserved and on guard. As a result, the informants of this study had to face a person from a different country and of a different social class. The fact that there was an interpreter involved does always affect the interview. The interpreters who were translating during the interviews were from higher middleclass and were, in some cases, not familiar with the poverty of the informants. These difficulties were tried to be managed by keeping the interview more like a discussion where the respondents as well as the interpreters were given time to ask questions as well.

Many difficulties could have been overcome by spending time with the informants, in order for the interviewer to get to know the informants and the informants to get to know the interviewer. Many good studies using in-depth interviews, have been prepared for during a period of half of a year or more, with the researcher living in the environment and socializing with the people of the study. This study was performed only after spending a couple of weeks in the study area. This shortage of time, do affect the answers given.

Another matter that has to be recognized is the authority’s manner of controlling criticism of the state. This dates back to Nyerere’s socialist period after independence in 1961, when Tanzania was highly influenced by the former countries of Eastern Europe. People, in an interview situation, might not express views that could be regarded as a criticism of the Tanzanian state. Because of this, the interviews were not recorded on tape. The informants were also asked if it was alright to keep written notes during the interview. A problem, related to the above discussion, took place during the first interviews with respondents who had migrated to Babati. I noticed that some questions did not give any or very short answers. When discussing this with the interpreter, his explanation was that the respondents were reluctant to answer the questions, because they were afraid to be sent back to the village they came from. Since no one in Tanzania is forbidden to live in towns, the truth of the interpreters argument has to be questioned, yet unanswered. When coming across this problem again, however, the question were rephrased into a general opinion. For example, I did not ask why
the respondent migrated to Babati, but why people in general move to Babati. The problem of reluctances of answering questions aimed at the individual was, however, not a problem in other interviews with Babati dwellers.

The two group interviews performed in Mutuka were by its form already asking for more general opinions. However, more detailed information could not be investigated in this kind of interview.

The small number of interviews, thirteen individual and two in group, is a weakness to the reliability of the study.

When analyzing the informants’ answers, all of the above mentioned matters, have been kept in mind.

3.2 Secondary sources
The secondary sources used were articles, books, reports, censuses and websites. Many of them covering Tanzania, but some with a content on Africa South of Sahara. One study, by Muhandi, was from Babati town. The authors are social scientists both from Tanzania and other parts of the world. The data banks and search engines of Web of Science, Web Citation Index, Journal Citation Report, CSA, Africa Lit, EBSCOhost, Google Scholar and LIBRIS have been used to retrieve articles and books. The statistical materials have been found on the website of National Bureau of Statistics Tanzania. The book *Urbanising Tanzania, Issues, Initiatives and Priorities* by Ngware and Kironde have been very helpful in finding specific material on Tanzania.

3.2.1 Reliability and validity of secondary sources
The reliability of statistical material on Tanzania has to be questioned. Statistics can be used to give an image that is in favour of the government. No information of how the censuses have been performed is available. A major part of the articles used has been published in renowned journals and has thus undergone a scientific examination. This should vouch for reliable information. The part of information found in books, has not been scientifically examined and is judged thereafter. The authors of the books often cited, like Gugler, are however well-known and have done research on urbanization for many years. Some of the
information found on urbanization and migration are on developing regions or the South as a whole. These general findings are of less validity to this study’s specific interest in Babati district, but served as material of comparison still useful. Muhandi’s study on migratory reasons in Babati town has the highest validity to this research paper, but unfortunately did not have the wanted impact, because it was only cited by Mascarenhas. The original study was not be found in the available databases. Some researchers, like Davis and Henderson are using somewhat tendentious arguments. This has been overcome by using researchers with different perspectives on development and urbanization. Mostly recent material of the 21:st century have been used, but some articles and books are dated back to the 1990’s.

3.2.2 Delimitations of secondary sources
An immense amount of material has been written on urbanization and migration in developing countries. A natural selection has been to limit the material geographically. Studies of areas outside Sub Saharan Africa have been excluded. In the result and analysis section most studies outside Tanzania have been excluded. Furthermore, studies reflecting a great content of general findings have not been included in this chapter. Research older than the year of 1991, has had to make way for more recent studies.

3.3 Structure of study
Chapter one contains an introduction to the field of urbanization and migration, targeted specifically on Tanzania. It also sets the objective of the study and the research questions needed to reach this purpose. Chapter two covers earlier studies of urbanization and migration. It is important as a theoretical framework and eases the understanding of the empirical material. Chapter three addresses the methods used for attaining the material of interviews and secondary sources, its strengths and weaknesses. Chapter four presents information on the geography and population in Babati town, Mutuka and Magugu. Chapter five contains the empirical material from the fieldwork and comparative literature. Beginning with results and analysis of the urban interviews, the middle section on rural interviews and the final part integrates both findings of urban and rural areas. Chapter six discusses rural-urban migration as people’s response to inequalities in society and system analysis compared to individual analysis. Chapter seven contains the main conclusions of the empirical material as well as giving the answers to research questions. Chapter eight contains a bibliography.
4. BACKGROUND

4.1 The study area
Babati district is situated in the Northern highlands of Tanzania. The district is divided into four divisions, 21 wards and 81 villages (Lindberg 1996). Ninety percent of the population are farmers. Babati town is the capital town and administrative centre of Manyara Region. The town has grown fast from 9759 inhabitants in 1978 (Muhandi 1995) to 31 077 inhabitants in 2002 (Population and Housing census 2002). The Great North Road that runs all the way from Cairo to Cape Town, goes through Babati town where it crosses the road to the west. Because of this, many people pass through Babati town and hence, it is a place with lively commerce. Due to a history of great immigration, the people in Babati have many ethnic origins. Most of the people are agropastoralists (Lindberg 1996). In 2002 a new region of Tanzania, named Manyara Region, was created. Babati town was assigned the capital of Manyara region. An even more revolving influence on the town might be due to the implications on the district level by the Local Government Reform Programme. These reforms will decentralize the authority from the regional level to the district authorities (Baker & Wallevik 2003).

The village of Mutuka is situated 15 kilometres east of Babati (Lindberg 1996). It has 2513 inhabitants (National Bureau of Statistics Tanzania 2002). It borders on another small village called Mamire. Mutuka is a quiet village with only one primary school, a few market stands, two shops and a village office. People make a living from farming and the keeping of livestock (Lindberg 1996).

Magugu is a village some 27 kilometres north of Babati. It has a population of 6360 people and is the centre of a rural area of about 17000 people (National Bureau of Statistics Tanzania 2002). Most people work in agriculture and keep livestock. Food crops are rice, sorghum, maize, beans, sweet potatoes and cassava. Groundnuts, sunflowers, sugarcane, rice and cotton are grown for sale (World Vision New Zealand 2005). The village has a square where quite a number of people continuously move about the market stands, stores and places to eat.
5. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Urban interviews

5.1.1 The story of Rehema

Rehema is a woman who migrated with her husband to Babati from the village of Mugundu. She is about 38 years old and from the tribe of Mnyiramba. In Mugundu life was difficult. Sometimes they did not have enough food. They had to carry their water from a far away well. Electricity had not been drawn to the village. Since there was no hospital in the village, they had to travel long distances on roads in bad condition to get healthcare. In 1983 her husband was assigned a job as a teacher at a bible school in Babati and she moved there with him. After a while the church provided them with a good house, with electricity, toilet and running water outside, in the central part of Babati. That is the same house where she lives when I meet her. She has five children, the youngest attends primary school and the oldest, William, is in a public University. Last April her husband got very sick. They went to the District Hospital of Babati, but the doctors could do nothing and he died suddenly during the night. Now she can not pay the rent for the house and is forced to leave in three months. Her sister has lent her money so she has time to find another, cheaper house. She found a house that was cheap (7000 Tsh a room per month), but someone else got it before her. Since there is a scarcity of houses in Babati she does not know what to do but keeps on looking. Her son William is sick with diabetes and is in constant need of insulin. Insulin needs to be stored in a cool place. When William is home they keep the insulin cold in a refrigerator at a neighbour’s house. Now she will only be able to afford to rent a house in the outskirts of Babati where electricity is not commonly available. This will cause difficulties in keeping William’s medicines cold.

5.1.2 Reasons for migrating from a rural area to Babati

The causes for poor people in villages to migrate to Babati town can be divided into three categories: economical, social and cultural.

Firstly, on the economic reasons, the search for employment, expressed by all eight of the informants, is by far the most common reason to migrate to Babati. This is in accordance with the generally accepted view that, the greatest motivation for people moving to urban areas is to seek employment or other activities that generate income (Kironde 2000, p.25-26). In the villages the people were totally dependent upon the income from the production of
agricultural activities and livestock. When the harvests failed or the prices for cash crops were low the outcomes were lack of food, lack of money, lack of possibilities to buy clothes and other essential things. This was regarded as an incentive to migrate to Babati. In Tonstöl et al’s (2000, p.11) presentation of reasons for migrating from rural to urban areas in third world countries, insufficient farm income is a push factor for many rural households to seek better opportunities in towns. In my study, there were also those respondents who migrated because there was no labour market for their profession in the village. One respondent was a construction worker and another was a cook and they moved to Babati to find employment there.

Secondly, on the social reasons for migration, lack of health care was mentioned by two respondents. The District Hospital is situated in Babati and that is where people in the district have to go for treatment. Often simple complaints are cured in the villages and there is also the possibility of treatment by traditional doctors. One of the respondents said she did not go to traditional doctors because some of them use magic. Most villages lack piped water, sewage systems, and electricity. Some respondents regarded this as a reason for migrating. Also rural dirt roads in bad condition as well as no means of transportation were mentioned. Tonstöl et al (2000, p.11) mention social, medical and educational services as a great push factor.

Thirdly, the urban lifestyle attracted two of the respondents. However, trying to pin down what they really meant by the urban lifestyle, it turned out that it was to have an occupation that is not concerned with agricultural activities, as well as to have an easy access to what the town offers in transportation, hospital, food etc. In a study from the district of Mbulu, nearby Babati, the authors describe the term meeta as a reason for urban migration. A person in a state of meeta is considered dangerous and exiled from their village. The most common reason for meeta is a girl who becomes pregnant outside of marriage or when a child dies through miscarriage. Mbulu and other towns represent a safe place for these victims, migrating there from their villages (Baker and Wallewik 2003, p.240) One of the respondents of my study was unmarried with a child. Although the respondent was not asked about this, since this was a sensitive issue, this might have been a reason for her to live in Babati rather than in a village.
Table 1. Main reasons for migrating to Babati from a rural area.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic: Looking for employment</th>
<th>general poverty</th>
<th>lack of food</th>
<th>lack of money</th>
<th>lack of clothes</th>
<th>lack of things to buy.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social: Lack of hospitals</td>
<td>insufficient social services of water, electricity and ways of transportation.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural: Preference of an urban lifestyle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The parenthesis indicates the number of the eight respondents, who gave this answer.

According to the 1988 Population Census of Tanzania the greatest reasons for migration in the country was in the following order, to seek work, marriage and shortage of land. A study in Babati town, by Muhandi (1996 cited in Mascarenhas 2000, p.68), indicated that more than half of the migrants had moved to town for employment reasons. Other reasons for migrating to Babati were greater opportunities for survival, marriage and possibilities for agriculture. The reasons to seek work and find opportunities for survival are in accordance with my study, while reasons of marriage, possibilities for agriculture and shortage of land were not found among the respondents’ answers. Although the respondents did not mention shortage of land as a direct reason for moving, this is a probable reason for one of the respondents since he was working as a day labourer.

5.1.3 Important factors for life in Babati

The individual answers to what the urban migrants considered important were of similar content. Everyone of the eight respondents in Babati mentioned a house as an important factor. Several assets connected to the house, like running water, electricity and toilet, were also of importance. This seems to correspond with the view that the urban migrants’ most imminent challenge is to secure housing (Tonstöl et al 2000, p.13).

First, they seemed to be concerned with matters that affect their immediate survival. Questions like, how do we earn money to buy our daily food, how do we secure our need of water and the above mentioned issue of shelter, are of superior priority. These needs being the most urgent, is maybe not a great surprise and it is also in line with Maslows’ hierarchy of
needs where the first two levels are concerned with physical needs and needs of security (Nationalencyklopedin).

Secondly, the respondents expressed that needs of clothes and material belongings were important. Also education and healthcare were important factors. Here there were individual differences in what the respondent thought was of higher priority. One woman had a son who was sick in diabetes. For her, healthcare was more important than material belongings. Another woman, whom was not in immediate need of healthcare, mentioned the search for material belongings as a top priority.

The migrants have moved to an urban area, which also means that they have moved into an environment where survival is dependent on money. The town is based on cash-economy. Consequently, the question of earning money is vital in order to secure their different financial needs. For most people in third world cities, employment in one form or another is the source to earn an income. Hence, employment for money is regarded of greater importance to all the respondents in this study.

Needs concerning the respondents self-esteem is not expressed by anyone. Questions about what they do in their spare time and what they would like to do for themselves was something they have not thought about before. This is also in line with Maslows hierarchy of needs where self-fulfilment is the fifth and last level of need (Nationalencyklopedin).

5.1.4 Disadvantages in Babati

Life did not turn out easy for the migrants well in Babati town. Generally the hardships were most profound during the first period of time after arriving in Babati town. Two of the respondents had only spent a couple of weeks in town, while the others had lived there for several years. Although all respondents were considered poor by the field-guide, there were differences of wealth amongst them. For example, one man had an income of 45.000 Tanzanian Shilling (Tsh) per month, while one woman earned 15.000 Tsh a day. The difficulties varied, but many were connected with lack of infrastructure. Five of the respondents lacked electricity. Running water and toilets were other issues. One man had to fetch his water from people in the neighbourhood and another man got his water from the school where he worked. Issues on housing ranged from finding a cheaper house to rent,
having a house of their own to different kinds of improvement in quality of that house. One man planned to build a new house in brick instead of his old made out of clay. Two respondents could not afford the costs of putting their children through school. One woman was unable to pay the costs for herself going to university. One family could not afford health services at all. Others could afford some medical treatment. One respondent, dressed in ragged clothing, said he could not afford to buy clothes when the old ones were worn down, neither could he afford sufficient food. That means that most of the daily diet is constituted of *ugali*, a porridge made of maize. Two respondents who had secured the basic necessities and one who had not, said they would like, but were unable to afford, different material belongings like a TV, a refrigerator, a sofa, a bike and a car. It could be true to all the respondents that they would like to be able to buy more material belongings, but it was expressed more as an unfulfilled need for these particular three respondents. One of the poorest respondents was also in need of working-tools. Two respondents wanted to have cattle which they were unable to afford.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unfulfilled</th>
<th>Fulfilled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Insufficient income (5)*</td>
<td>Job (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of electricity (5)</td>
<td>Sufficient housing (4)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of piped water (4)</td>
<td>Toilet (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of toilet (4)</td>
<td>Piped water (4)**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insufficient housing (4)*</td>
<td>Electricity (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not affording costs for school (3)</td>
<td>Sufficient income (3)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not affording material belongings (3)</td>
<td>Good access to healthcare (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not affording cattle (2)</td>
<td>Transportations (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not affording health services at all (1)</td>
<td>Animals and trees (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not affording to buy clothes (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not affording sufficient food (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The parenthesis indicates the number of the eight respondents, who gave this answer.

* As measured by the respondents’ standards

** For one of the respondents three months’ notice of lease
There are really two sides to the needs not fulfilled in the urban environment. One is that some of the migrants have moved to parts of Babati where social services are not available. This is the case of the people living in the outskirts of town where piped water, sewage system and electricity have not been built. The other side of the needs is what they do have access to, but still can not afford to buy. This is even the case of health services for one respondent and costs related to schooling for three respondents. On the question if they would like to go back to their village most respondents said no. Still one of the respondents wished to move back to the village where his family was and start a business there. One respondent thought village life had improved to become almost like Babati, but she did not want to leave Babati since she was established there. Another woman declared she would move back if the problems with lack of running water were solved.

In order to get a broader perspective of the difficulties these urban migrants are facing, it is relevant with a comparison. Even though the urban migrants of this study were poor, there are even poorer urban dwellers found in shanty towns and informal settings in other areas. As mentioned under section 2.3, Gugler (1997, p.261) points out that the cost of housing force many poor to squatting. Very few informal settlers exist in Babati and they were not a part of this study. According to Un Habitat (1996), in Dar es Saalam 70 percent live in unplanned settlements with critical environmental problems. One of these unplanned areas, mentioned by Olofsson and Sandow (2003, p. 57-58), is called Hanna Nassif and used to house 400 people per hectar. The settlement was so crowded that half of the houses were not accessible by vehicles. There were no defined roads, neither any waste management. During the rainy season flooding was common, with consequences of soil erosion and overflowed pit-latrines which caused health problems like cholera, typhoid and malaria.

5.2 Rural interviews

5.2.1 Disadvantages in Magugu and Mutuka
The greatest concern for the villagers of Mutuka and Magugu is related to farming activities. Some respondents expressed the problem of small harvests due to lack of modern machinery.
A market for farming products where few buyers buy at low prices was a quandary to others. Drought or too much rain is also mentioned as a trouble when one is totally dependent on the harvests. The fact that there are very few alternatives to the occupation of agriculture was regarded a disadvantage by many. People, particularly the young, interested in other employment can not have their interests fulfilled in the village. The lack of qualified jobs does affect the possibilities to make money. Only engaging in farming could also make the existence dull.

Insufficient infrastructure is a great concern. The respondents describe lack of tarmac roads and the roads that are available are in bad condition, lack of electricity, toilets and running water. Many villagers have to walk long distances to fetch water in wells. Ways of transportations by car or buses was also a need.

Long distances to the District hospital of Babati was a problem to all respondents. An insufficient number of schools was a concern to the respondents of Magugu. One woman mentioned the lack of police for protection. On the road between Babati and Mutuka there had recently been rapings not solved by the police. The absence of phones, shops, bars, restaurants, a house for meetings and in the case of Mutuka a market were other disadvantages mentioned. Two of the respondents in Magugu expressed a view of not being able to affect the decisions regarding their village. “The people of Magugu are like workers for Babati, where the decisions are made”, one of them said.

Not surprisingly the disadvantages expressed by the respondents of Magugu and Mutuka are very similar to the reasons for migration, given by the respondents of Babati.

5.2.2 Advantages in Magugu and Mutuka

While many of the disadvantages of living in Magugu and Mutuka centred on agriculture the advantages also were related to agriculture. One of the respondents simply put it: “There is only farming activities, no alternatives, but I am satisfied with agriculture”.

The respondents of Mutuka expressed the climate conditions and the abundance of natural resources which are good for agriculture and keeping of livestock as advantages of the village. These conditions are beneficial in order to make money on agriculture and livestock.
Social network is regarded as a very important factor for life in both Magugu and Mutuka. When the villagers are in need of, for example flour, vegetables, maize, traditional medicine or money, they can achieve that from relatives, friends or neighbours. If they lack social networks they are very vulnerable to hardships connected with farming activities.

5.2.3 Differences in Magugu and Mutuka

Although the sample is small there is a difference between the views of the people in the two villages. The respondents of Magugu express more positive remarks of their village than then the respondents of Mutuka. In Mutuka people are more willing to migrate to Babati. One woman expressed with a bitter tone of voice: “What could possibly be good about village life?” In Magugu the villagers say they want to stay in Magugu because it is too expensive to live in Babati. One woman said that “In Magugu it is easy and cheap to get bread and flour.” She likes life here. An old man said that “I cannot manage to buy a house and all the things needed in Babati.” When arriving in Magugu the village does not look that different from Babati. As mentioned earlier lots of people are sitting, standing or moving about in the central parts. Commerce seems to be going on everywhere. According to the observations and the respondents’ opinions, Magugu is a place with good conditions for trade. Mutuka however seems much more isolated from other economical markets. Both the people of Magugu and Mutuka do think of Babati as a town with good conditions for trade. That is one main reason for the want to migrate there, but the need seems greater for the people of Mutuka. It is wise to bear in mind that there are great differences among individuals within both the rural and urban areas. As one of the respondents of Mutuka put it, when I asked here to compare life in the village to life in Babati: “If you succeed, life is good in any environment. If you own a house and have money it is good to live in Babati. If you have good conditions for farming life is good in Mutuka”.

5.3 Integrating analysis

In the rural areas of Babati district there are different economical, social and cultural problems that force people to look for better opportunities. People migrate to Babati in hope of getting rid of these problems. Or as Krofkors puts it: “Migration represents one important demographic response to conditions of poverty and environmental stress in Africa” (Krofkors 1995, p.54). Mascarthenas (2000, p.83) concludes that the reasons for migration and
urbanisation are economic and political differences and an urge for individuals to look for a better life.

Davis and Henderson (2003) tell us, that urbanization occurs when a country develops and technical innovations of the agriculture release labour to migrate to the cities.

In Mutuka people were still working on the fields with traditional methods. They had tons of work and nowhere to be found was a surplus labour source. Still, one of the respondents had plans of moving to Babati, where she already has bought a plot. So on the contrary what Davis and Henderson describes, it seems that too much work or too hard work with traditional methods, rather than being freed of work, is a reason for migration to urban areas. This is more in line with Amins’ findings: In Europe the emigration from the countryside was due to a surplus of labour because of technological improvements in agriculture and a higher productivity with less people. In Africa such dramatic innovations have not occurred. The urban migration in Africa is not followed by an increased agricultural productivity, but rather by a stagnating one (Amin 1995, p.38).

When the migrants reach Babati, most of them, have to settle down in the outskirts of the town. These areas often lack running water, sewage systems, and garbage disposals simply because the expansion of infrastructure does not keep pace with the urbanization. Some migrants in Babati can not afford to buy or rent land and they settle in an area where a gully is spreading, threatening their homes during the rain season. The respondents of this study talked about this first time as newcomers as a difficult one, especially as they did not have a social network. As time passed, most of them improved their standards of living. Still many of the respondents expressed major difficulties, such as lack of social services and not having the economical resources for their needs, even though they have been living in Babati for several years. There was a mismatch of what they believed was important factors for life in Babati and what was actually fulfilled. Many of the unfulfilled needs were also the same as the reasons to why they migrated from their villages.
6. DISCUSSION

As we can see there are difficulties both in the rural and the urban area. On average the standard of living is somewhat higher in the urban areas. But there are rich and poor people in both areas. In Babati I met people in ragged clothes and in the villages prosperous people with lots of food and cattle. Whether one lives in a village or an urban area quality of life is dependent upon the distribution of resources. It is a question of equality and inequality. The reason to why so many people still migrate to urban areas, I think is the fact that there are more opportunities there, but also the belief that they will be able to grasp these opportunities. Sometimes that is the case but many times it is not. Some of the problems in the urban areas are due to overurbanization, forcing migrants to live in dangerous or otherwise adverse areas, often in the marginal parts of the urban area. This problem could be solved with immense efforts directed to the urban population. Another solution would be to direct investments to the rural areas to make these places more fortunate to live in. But the policies, according to urban bias theories, do favour urban areas for the rural. In my opinion the efforts should not be directed to either or, but to both areas.

One theory on why people move from rural to urban areas is because we do not want to be dependent on the power of nature. In cities people are instead dependent on other people and on the capability of infrastructure.

The assignment of Babati town as the capital of Manyara region and the increasement of authority due to The Local Government Reform Programme is likely to boost the urbanization in Babati even more in the future.

It could also be argued that urban migration is people’s response to inequalities in society. The economic reasons for migrating reflect a rational choice. To move from a rural area with small incomes to an urban area with greater incomes is natural. This is the individual motivation for migrating. But does this teach us anything useful about the causes of migration? The individual is part of a system which set the prerequisites. The underlying causes of migration are found in an unequal development (Amin 1995, p.31-32). I agree with Amin’s view that the underlying causes of migration are part of an unequal system. But within the economical reasons there is a great variety which reflects the individuals, not to
mention other reasons of social and cultural character. When we have a comprehensive picture of peoples’ conceptions of advantages and disadvantages in urban and rural areas, the system can be changed in order to meet the individuals’ needs. In order to create bottom-up strategies the people affected by inequalities have to be heard. However, to look into the inequalities of the system would be of much importance to further research.

7. CONCLUSIONS

The reasons for rural-urban migration to Babati are economic, social and cultural. The dominating ones are of economic origins, with the search for employment mentioned by all respondents. Social reasons include lack of education, healthcare, running water, toilets, electricity and the difficulty of transportation. Cultural reasons were not as commonly mentioned, but an urban lifestyle not dependent on farming activities was a preference. The better opportunities for trade in Babati town was mentioned by the villagers as a want to move there. This was more the case in Mutuka than in Magugu.

The greatest concerns for the Babati migrants were insufficient housing, lack of social services and not being able to afford services, food and things. The housing issues seem to be more a problem for Babati dwellers than for the villagers. This is due to higher costs for land in town, but could also reflect a demand for increased housing standards. When entering a community based on a cash-economy the difficulties of affording to buy necessities is evident. In the agrarian village they used to be more self-supporting. Concerns regarding social services were, for the migrants living in the outskirts of the town, very much the same as in the villages. However, there was one great difference. Although some of migrants were still engaged in farming activities, they all had other occupations. The greatest reason for migrating, namely to find employment, were met by all of the migrants. The greatest asset for the migrants of Babati was the diverse market of employment. This might reflect the finding that, although many of their needs were not fulfilled, most of the respondents did not want to return to their villages.

The respondents of Mutuka expressed the climate conditions and natural resources which are good for agriculture and keeping of livestock as advantages of the village. In Magugu a great advantage was the affordability of houses, food and necessary things. Social networks was an
important advantage of both villages. Problems in the villages were also connected to agriculture, like insufficient harvests and low market prices on agricultural goods. Lack of social services and transportation were widespread concerns.

An important finding of this study is the different views on migration of the people of Magugu and Mutuka. Magugu has developed along rice production. It is in many aspects a flourishing small town with opportunities of trade and employment for its’ inhabitants. Mutuka on the other hand suffered badly during the villagization programme. It became the poor subvillage of Mamire. Many villagers then left Mutuka, migrating to more fortunate places. If the economical hardships of the village today can be traced back to villagization has not been investigated in this study. But from observations and peoples’ opinions it is a stagnating village. Businesses are very rare, trade is not seen and the only occupation is farming. The inhabitants are very much aware of the economic development in Babati town. In this context it is understandable that the villagers of Mutuka are more eager to migrate to Babati town than the people of Magugu.

Issues that the urban migrants considered important were very much connected with survival. Therefore the matters of top-priority were to secure housing, food and water. In order to secure these matters a job for earning money was of vital concern. Secondly, clothes, material belongings as well as education and health care were important factors. Matters of self-esteem were not expressed by anyone. Quality of life is thus, for the urban migrants, a question of secured basic needs.

So, did the migration to Babati town help the migrants to achieve what they considered important? Looking at the most important needs, half of the urban migrants’ expressed needs of sufficient housing and connection to piped water were met while the other half’s needs were not. All had jobs, but three out of five did not have a sufficient income. As newcomers to Babati town they suffered from more hardships than after living in Babati for a while. Altogether, did the migration to Babati town help the migrants to fulfil some of their needs, while they are still struggling to fulfil others.
8. REFERENCES


APPENDIX 1

Main interview questions

Personal data
   A. Name
   B. Sex
   C. Birthplace
   D. Age
   E. Tribe
   F. Family
   G. Profession
   H. Village (migrated from or living in)

Interview questions for Babati dwellers
   1. What was your life like in the village?
   2. Tell me about leaving the village?
   3. How come you migrated to Babati?
   4. What was your life like at first coming to Babati?
   5. What is your life like now?
   6. What are your activities of work?
   7. Do you think you earn enough money?
   8. What do you do when you do not work?
   9. What are the most important factors that you do have in your life right now?
  10. Is there anything that you would like to have or do that you do not have now?
  11. How can you tell if a person is poor?
  12. What do you think life is like nowadays for those who stayed in the village?
  13. Have you ever considered going back?
  14. What do you think your future will look like?

Interview questions for village dwellers
   1. Tell me about your daily activities
   2. Are you satisfied with your situation and living conditions? Why/why not?
   3. Is there anything you would like to have or do that you do not have now?
4. For those needs that are not fulfilled what are the obstacles for you to fulfill them?
5. What is a person like that is poor?
6. How is your life compared to the life in Babati?
7. Have you ever considered moving to Babati? Why/why not?
8. What do you think your future will look like?
9. What is the function of the social network? What matter does it make?
10. What are your expectations on the development of your village?

Group interview questions

1. How is life in Mutuka/Magugu?
   a) What are the benefits?
   b) What are the problems?
2. What part do relations with other people play?
3. What is the lifestyle of the village like?
4. Have you considered moving to Babati?
5. If moving to Babati, how do you think your lives would change?
6. What do you think of the development of Mtuka/Magugu?
APPENDIX 2

The Babati migrants (B1-B8), answers to two questions on migration and needs.

Main reasons for migration to Babati from a rural area.

B1  To find better opportunities for work as a construction worker. Like the lifestyle of town.
B2  In the village working as a daylabourer in bad conditions. Went to look for a better job in town. Get away from poverty.
B3  They had a difficult life in the village lacking food, water, electricity and hospital service. They were looking for better services in town. Her husband got a job as a teacher at a bible school in town.
B4  In the village he lacked money, food and tools for cultivating. He went to town to get a job so that he could save money for his children to go to school.
B5  In the village there was a lack of things to buy. He did not earn enough money on the agricultural products he was selling. Rural life was hard because of lack of money. He got a job as a watchman in Babati.
B6  In the village she lacked hospital, transportations, job and money. She went to town to find the above factors and foremost to look for a job. She prefers the urban life style.
B7  She migrated to Babati to have closer to the fishmarket where she buys fish from the fishermen and sell it to people in town.
B8  He went to look for a job in town to earn more money. No jobs as a cook in the village. He was in need of clothes, food, bike and a car.

Important factors for Babati migrants.

B1  A house
   Education
B2  His home, the house, animals, plot, trees
   Water of his own, electricity, toilet and tools.
   A job
B3  Her house
   Health care
B4  A house
   Having money to put his children through school
   Have a shop of his own
   Hospitals
   Transportations
B5  His house
   Material belongings
   Cattle
<p>| | |</p>
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</table>
| B6 | A house of her own  
Material things |
| B7 | To get money from her daily business.  
A good quality house  
a car |
| B8 | Move back to the village where his family is and establish a business there.  
Have a bike and a car.  
Luxury items |