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

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Abstract

This study examines gendered migration patterns in Mwanza City, Tanzania, as well as the impacts of differentials of men's and women's migration on their absorption in the urban informal sector, access to assets, adaptation to city life and their livelihood, and also their role in the development of areas of origin. The study employed a combination of participatory appraisal methods, cross-sectional and causal comparative research design. Findings show that for temporary marginal men migrants, reasons to move are strongly associated with 'push' factors rather than 'pull' factors. By contrast, women's decisions to move are greatly determined by personal/family issues and situations. The findings also show that social networks play a key role in men's and women's migration. The main recommendation is that the government, and society in general, should condone female migration as it sometimes empowers them even more than males.

Introduction

Rural-urban migration in Tanzania can be traced back to the early colonial period. However, since the late 1970s and early 1980s, a large influx of rural-urban migration has flooded most Tanzanian cities. The trend has been so strong such that it has attracted the attention of both policy makers and academics alike. Many recent studies have investigated various aspects of this issue (see, for example, Knight & Song, 1966, 1999; Mbonile & Lihawa, 1996; Mbonile, 1993; Kahama et al., 1986; O'Connor, 1988; Mwageni, 1991; Masanja, 2010).

In the literature of rural-urban migration, the importance of the urban informal sector to migrants is a controversial issue. Most classical migration models treat the informal sector as a temporary employment opportunity for migrants (see, Todaro, 1969; Fields, 1975; 1976; Mazumdar, 1976; 1977). In the early 1970s, the International Labour Organization (ILO) published a report (ILO, 1972) on Kenyan employment, income and equality that challenged the above-mentioned theoretical models, and

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suggested that the informal sector in Kenya played an important role in economic development. Since then other studies have supported the ILO findings (Bhattacharya, 1993; Deshpande, 1983).

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

Increasing population pressure at the household level and socio-economic disparities between people and communities, disparities between urban and rural areas, increasing unemployment, unequal land ownership, and difficult rural life in general have resulted in livelihood vulnerability in the rural areas of Tanzania. People are pursuing internal migration as a survival strategy, among others, to create livelihoods in the urban informal sectors.

Previous urban studies in Africa have pointed to the existence of 'economy of affection' or 'moral economy' in the informal sector (Macharia, 1997; Olomi, 1996; Williams, 1987; Tripp, 1997; Tripp & Swantz, 1997). Several authors argue that migrant entrepreneurs in the urban informal sector are caught between supporting their rural relatives while at the same time trying to make ends meet in the city. Many promising informal sector migrant entrepreneurs cannot achieve effective capital investment and expansion of their business as they find it very hard to reject requests for assistance (Marris & Somerset, 1971; Bienefeld, 1975; Hart, 1975). Unsurprisingly, therefore, some studies have argued that to be successful, entrepreneurs in the informal sector should abandon their 'affection' to their rural brethren.

Swantz (1985) has lamented on the unrecognized role women migrants play in rural development and that they have been denied their creative role. Women's contribution is always 'undervalued if not overlooked entirely' (Nwihim, 1983).

Literature Review

Migration: Background and Theory

Migration is defined simply as a process of personal movement from one area to another. However, the nature of migration and the causes for it are

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complex, and there is no general agreement among scholars on the causes of migration. Economists consider rural-urban migration as a process of labour movement from less developed to more advanced areas. First, migration theory is based on the dual economy theory by Lewis (1954). Basically, the dual economy theory explains the cause of rural-urban migration as a result of wage rate differences between subsistence areas (rural agricultural sector where the labour force is suffering from unemployment and underemployment), and modernized areas (the industrial sector where many employment opportunities are being generated and are also suffering from labour shortage).

However, many scholars have found the dual economy theory unsatisfactory (Todaro, 1976) because of various reasons.

- (a) Although the wage rate differences are an important reason for a person to move from a rural to an urban area, the movement of people from rural to urban areas should not be seen simply a case of wage differences as there are many other reasons that force people to relocate.
- (b) The assumption of zero marginal productivity and labour surplus in rural areas are not very realistic.
- (c) The assumption that the rate of job generation in urban areas is high enough to absorb the labour from rural areas is not true in many cases. In general, industrialization in urban areas creates a high demand for labour, but nowadays under the strong threat of competition, many firms have not employed labour intensity technology, but capital intensity instead, and therefore the demand for labour in urban areas is not always high enough to absorb labour from rural areas.
- (d) Migration from rural areas to urban areas, as observed from reality, does not always go to industrial sector as in Lewis's theory, but just comes to urban areas to work in low productivity and low wage sectors in the informal economy of the city for instance as street vendors, casual labourers or construction workers.

All of these points indicate that while the neoclassical theory has explained the causes for a person to move from a rural to an urban area, it has oversimplified the causes of the migration. Lewis's model could explain well the model of the West, but it does not fully explain the rural-urban migration in the developing world nowadays. A special feature of the developing world today is high population growth, and therefore the migration from rural to

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urban area is not only because of wage differences, and labour demand in urban areas.

According to Todaro (1976), rural-urban migration nowadays in developing countries is not a process to equalize the wage rate differences between rural and urban areas. On the contrary, it is increasingly becoming the major contributing factor to the ubiquitous phenomenon of urban surplus labour, and as a force that continues to exacerbate the already serious urban unemployment problems caused by growing economic and structural imbalances between urban and rural areas (Ayman, 2002). Todaro suggests that the decision to migrate includes the perception on the part of potential migrants of a potentially higher urban income which will give them a better income, and therefore a better livelihood (Cornwell, 2004).

According to the Todaro approach, migration rates in excess of the growth of urban job opportunities are not only possible, but also rational and probable in the face of continued and expected large positive urban to rural income differentials. High levels of rural-urban migration can continue even when urban unemployment rates are high, and are known to potential migrants. Todaro (1976) suggests that a migrant will move even if that migrant ends up being unemployed or receives a lower urban wage than the rural wage. This happens because the migrants expect that they will end up with some kinds of job that gives them a good compensation, and therefore they are willing to be unemployed or underpaid and to wait for a better job opportunity in the future. According to Ayman (2002), a major weakness of Todaro's model is its assumption on expected incomes. It is also unrealistic in that migrants are able to have enough information to project and to make a decision to migrate. Furthermore, Todaro's model do not take into account noneconomic factors, and abstract itself from the structural aspects of the economy (ibid.).

Some scholars have used the pull and push factors approach—a combination of neoclassical and Torado's approaches—to explain the cause of rural-urban migration. Lee (1966) developed a general schema into which a variety of spatial movements can be placed according the forces influencing migrant perceptions into push and pull factors (Ayman, 2002). The former are negative factors that force migrants to leave origin areas, while the latter are positive factors that attract migrants in the expectation of better standards of living. Push factors include unemployment and land shortages that urge the farmers to leave their native area, the homeland, to find a new place to settle and to work. Pull factors refer to job or income

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opportunities outside the homeland that attract migrants. According to Lee the push factor could be more important than the pull factor (ibid.).

Gendered Rural-urban Migration in Tanzania

The notion that only men have been involved in rural-urban migration in Tanzania is erroneous. Both men and women have been migrating for both similar and gender-specific reasons. Studies have so far revealed that males migrate primarily in search of employment; while females migrate because of a wide range of social and reproductive factors, as well as because of economic incentives. Likewise, while males migrate to areas with employment, females gravitate toward towns and cities where the informal sector thrives. Also, the social and economic behaviours of migrants are gender-specific: males thrive in the formal economy, while females tend towards the informal sector and retail trade (Dodson, 1998).

Mwageni (1991) dismissed the stereotype that in Africa, and particularly in Tanzania, women are 'left behind' as men migrate, contending that historically women have been more independent than most studies have acknowledged. So, regardless of gender, there is a continuing rural-urban migration, reflecting not only the attractive wage rates in urban areas, but also the limited formal employment opportunities in rural areas.

Rural-urban migration in Tanzania has been an ongoing process. However, it has grown during the past sixty years, increasing from 183,862 (2.8% of total population) in 1948 to 685,547 in 1967, and to 1,664,079 (10.6% of total population) in 1978 (Mosha, 1993). Whereas the population growth rate for urban centres for the 1957-1967 intercensal period was 6.5%, it was 8.4% for the 1978-1988 period (ibid.). The major destinations of migrants are major urban centres.

Urban Informal Sector

The concept of the informal sector has been debated since its 'discovery' in Africa in the early 1970s. Nevertheless, it has continued to be used by many policy makers, labour advocates, and researchers because in reality it seeks to capture the large share of the global workforce that remains outside the world of full-time, stable, and protected employment. At present, there is renewed interest in informal work arrangements. This current interest stems from the fact that informal work arrangements have not only persisted and expanded, but have also emerged in new forms and in unexpected places. In recent years, some policy makers, activists, and researchers—both within and outside the ILO—have started to use the

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term ‘informal economy’ for a broader concept that incorporates certain types of informal employment that were not included in the 1993 international statistical definition of the ‘informal sector’. They seek to incorporate in this concept the whole of informality—including both enterprise and employment relations—as manifested in industrialized, transition, and developing economies. This shift toward an expanded concept of the ‘informal economy’ reflects a rethinking of some of the key assumptions regarding the so-called ‘informal sector’. Those involved in the current rethinking, both within and outside the ILO, seek to incorporate the real world dynamics in labour markets today, particularly the employment arrangements of low-income workers.

The Resolution concerning Statistics of Employment in the Informal Sector, adopted by the Fifteenth International Conference of Labour Statisticians in 1993, defined the informal sector as a group of household enterprises or unincorporated enterprises owned by households that includes:

- Informal own-account enterprises, which may employ contributing family workers and employees on an occasional basis; and
- Enterprises of informal employers, which employ one or more employees on a continuous basis.

Also, the enterprise of informal employers must fulfil one or both of the following criteria: size of unit below a specified level of employment, and non-registration of the enterprise or its employees.

The above framework allows countries to adapt the basic operational definition and criteria to their specific circumstances. In particular, flexibility is allowed with respect to the upper limit on the size of employment; the introduction of additional criteria such as non-registration of either the enterprise or its employees; the inclusion or exclusion of professionals or domestic employees; and the inclusion or exclusion of agriculture (ILO, 2002).

Migration of labour and the informal sector

Stark, 1991 argues that there is a relationship between migration of labour and the informal sector. According to him, the decision to migrate to urban areas is directly influenced by family needs for a better economic stability. Family members who migrate to urban centres send remittances to their families in the rural areas. This involves the family locating their labour assets in different geographical regions to ensure financial stability. In this

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way the family pulls together its resource to help it cover risks and ensure financial stability.

Such as
by who?

Earlier researches have shown that immigrants to urban areas first put up with relatives or friends as they look for jobs in the formal sector. They, on the other hand, help in preparing meals and other household chores. With time, they find jobs as messengers, clerks, etc., and move out to lead their own lives. However, sometimes they do not find jobs in the formal sector, and they end up joining the informal sector, where they sell second-hand clothes (*mitumba*), peas, shoes, and or engage in other activities found in the informal sector. This informal sector work may also include helping selling in the family kiosk, selling newspapers or curios, shoe shining in a street corner, etc.

A great deal of African urban studies (see, e.g., Epstein, 1969; Mitchell, 1969), argue that urban migrants tend to make closed groups according to kinship, village of origin and ethnic affiliation. Some of these studies argue that such group memberships function to establish their economic activities (O'Connor, 1983; Macharia, 1997). Macharia, however, argues that while ethnicity often gives the basis for trust and consideration to credit, some ethnic groups are jealous and envious of each other's success, and may never pay back a credit to run down the business of their co-ethnic. Therefore, such ethnic groups would rather give the credit to people from other ethnic groups (Macharia, 1997).

The informal sector and migrants in Tanzania

In Tanzania, There was a rapid development of micro-enterprises after independence, but this shrank after the Arusha Declaration (1967) as private entrepreneurship was seen as contradicting the socialist policies. Lerise, (1991) concludes that there was little development of the small-scale enterprises in Tanzania in the 1970s under the *ujamaa* system. However, there were efforts under the Small Industries Development Organisation (SIDO) to establish modern small-scale enterprises, with the aid of SIDA. This however, focused more on the technology transfer and indigenization rather than on entrepreneurship, and thus it failed.

According to Bagachwa and Ndulu (1996) the major beneficiaries of informal employment opportunities are migrant labourers. In their survey they found that the majority of labour force (84% in Arusha and 90% in Dar es Salaam) migrated from outside their respective work place. Also, they

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acknowledged that urban small activities are considered important in the overall context of development because they provide employment for the disadvantaged section of the population.

The majority of people in Mwanza city are self-employed. According to the Mwanza environmental profile report (2002), about 42% of the people are self-employed in the informal sector, 32% in the formal sector, and 27% are unemployed. The profile report also indicates that the majority of people in Mwanza city are operating in more than 120 different types of informal occupations. The informal sector is estimated to accommodate more than 75% of all the population in Mwanza city (Mwanza City Business Department, 2006). Thus, the informal sector tends to be more effective in the utilization of local resources using simple and affordable technology, and plays a fundamental role in utilizing and adding value to local resources.

Female migrants and the urban informal sector in Tanzania

Nowadays, women are increasingly migrating as the main economic providers, or 'breadwinners' for their households. The growing number of female in migration is an inevitable outcome of feminization of poverty and employment in the labour market. According to Arisa (1995) and Durin et. al. (2007), one of the contributing factor to the feminization of employment is cheap, flexible, unorganized female labour. Also, women can be employed as piece-rate, part-time, home-based workers, and can be forced to accept low waged and undervalued jobs in the informal sector. The 'feminization of migration' has also produced specifically female forms of migration, such as the commercialized migration of domestic workers and caregivers, and the migration and trafficking of women for the sex industry. Most women migrants works in urban the informal sector as house maids, vegetable/fruit sellers, road-side stall (*ambulantes*) workers, sellers of handicraft, labourers in construction, entertainers and sex workers (Durin et.al., 2007).

Informal sector employment for women covers activities such as trading, domestic services, construction work, sewing, hairdressing; as well as involvement in domestic works, commercial sex, crafts and cottage industries (for example weaving, soap making and pottery. Informal sector trading seems to be the most popular occupation of women migrants in Tanzania.

In Tanzania, married women enter the informal sector to help their husbands in boosting family income. In most cases husbands provide the capital for starting the business. However, sometimes husbands may feel threatened by

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the success of their wives' businesses, and withdraw the financial support or bar them women from operating businesses..

On the other hand, women have diversified ways of advancing economically by forming rotating saving clubs (ROSCAS), which is not common with men. This assures their economic independence and development. Women have managed to group and establish themselves using savings from these ROSCAS to affirm their economic thriftiness in the otherwise male-dominated environment.

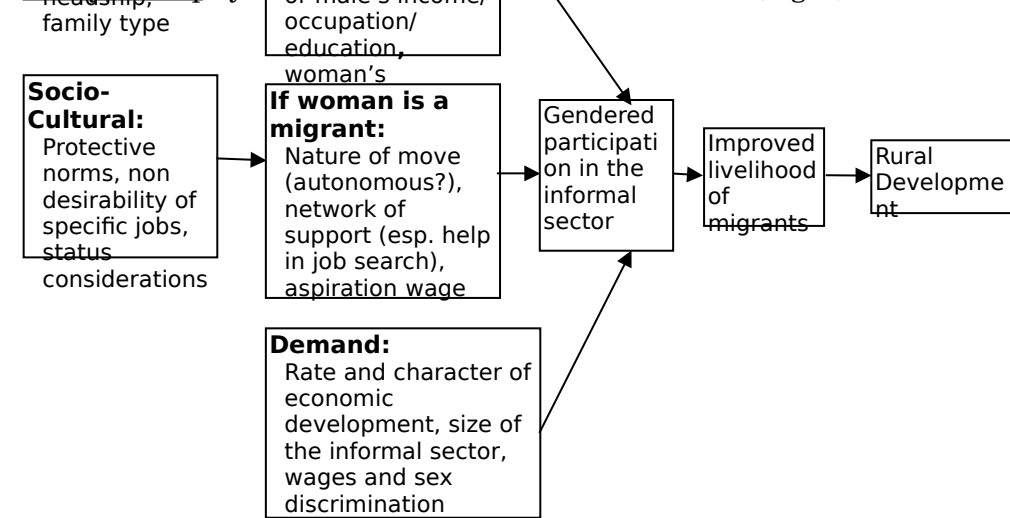
Policies for Informal Sector Development in Tanzania

The Tanzanian government implemented various policies for informal sector development in the 1990s to curb the increasing number of street vendors. For example, the Dar es Salaam City Council legalized 66 economic activities, and set the amount of tax and license fees under the 'Hawking and Street Trading (Amendment)' by-laws of 1991 (Dar es Salaam City Council, 1997). Local authorities like the Mwanza City Council followed this policy. However, the most important change for the traders in Mwanza was a new policy for city's urban planning. The Mwanza City Council constructed six trading centers, including the Mlango Mmoja Market, (the biggest market for selling second-hand clothes), under the 'Mwanza Master Plan' enacted in 1993. Under this plan, the police and the militia (*mgambo*) demolished stalls of street traders, and forced them to move to these markets in 1995-1996. The middlemen and retailers bitterly refused to move, with some inventing mobile stalls, or moved to suburban areas to hawk. Urban dwellers and government officials began to call street traders 'marching guys' (*machinga* in Kiswahili), a name that is common and popular to date (Sayaka, 2006; Liviga & Mekacha, 1998).

Conceptual framework

Background Factors participation in the informal sector. **Intervening Factors** factors that contribute to migrants' participation in the informal sector. These factors may be broken down into

Supply: Women's education and skill level, attractiveness of jobs, husband's or male's income/occupation/education, woman's
Demand: Rate and character of economic development, size of the informal sector, wages and sex discrimination
Socio-Cultural: Protective norms, non desirability of specific jobs, status considerations
Gendered participation in the informal sector → **Improved livelihood of migrants** → **Rural Development**



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Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework

Research Methodology

Mwanza city is found on coordinates 2° 31' 12" S and 32° 54' 15" E. It is located on the southern shores of Lake Victoria in North-western Tanzania. It covers an area of 1325km², of which 425km² is dry land and 900km² is covered by water. Of the 425km² of dry land area, approximately 86.8km² is urbanized. Mwanza city comprises two districts, namely, Nyamagana and Ilemela. The administrative wards in the city are: Rural Wards - *Ilemela* (Sangabuye, Bugogwa, Ilemela, Buswelu); *Nyamagana* (Igoma, Buhongwa, and Mkolani); Urban Wards - *Ilemela* (Kirumba, Kitangiri, Nyamanoro, Pansiasi and Nyakato); *Nyamagana* (Pamba, Isamilo, Mkuyuni, Nyamagana, Mbugani, Butimba, Igogo, Mahina and Mirongo).

The study relied on a combination of participatory appraisal methods, cross-sectional and causal-comparative design, through which the study attempted to determine the causes/reasons for existing differences in the behaviour of

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study groups. A combination of a survey and focus group discussions was used to examine the research questions. A control group comprising of non-migrants (males and females separately) was used to ensure that the findings are free from researcher bias and error as much as possible.

The Study population

The sampling frame for the study consisted of all *circular* migrants and non-migrants of 15 years and above who have lived in Mwanza city for six months or more. Efforts were done to project the population enumerated in Mwanza City in the 2002 national census to the year 2010. While the base population of those aged 15+ in 2002 was 286,206, the present projected population is 446,482 of those aged 15 years and above.

The main methods of data/information gathering were questionnaires and focus group discussions, which were designed in such a way as to allow researchers to collect information about *circular* migrants and non-migrants currently living Mwanza City, The information sought included activities and earnings from the urban informal sector, linkages with places of origin, and policies (their implementation and effects).

The Sampling design

From the population outlined above, it was necessary at first to determine the sample that would be adequate and representative enough to make the study valid. The calculated sample included both migrants and non-migrants of both sexes who are currently living in Mwanza city.

Determination of the sample size

The total sample size for the survey was determined using the formula:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N_{(e)}^2}$$

Where:

N = sample frame (the given population size, in this case N = projected population of Mwanza City aged 15 years and above).

s = required sample size

e = the desired level of precision or the margin error or sampling error which is estimated at $\pm 5\%$.

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So, with a projected population of 446,482 of those aged 15 and above for the year 2010, the calculated sample amounted to 399.6, which is about 400 respondents.

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

Determination of sample sizes

The projection of the census population of 2002 to 2010 of those aged 15 years and above of each selected ward was done using the extrapolation approach. The exponential growth method was applied using the formula (Kpedekpo, 1982):

$$P_{t+n} = P_t e^{rn}$$

Where:

P_t = base population

e = constant (The base of natural logarithm) pegged at 2.7182818

n = defined period of growth (Calculation made for 8 years from previous census)

r = growth rate (The growth rate for Mwanza City in 2002 Census was 5.6% or 0.056)

Table 1 shows the base and projected populations of the sampled wards.

Table 1: Distribution of base and projected population aged 15+

Ward	Base Population aged 15+ (year 2002)			Projected Population aged 15+ (year 2010)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Igoma	8104	8464	16568	12642	13203	25845
Nyamanoro	12957	13605	26562	20213	21224	41437
Mkuyuni	6598	4126	10234	10293	6437	16730
Buhongwa	2514	2629	5143	3922	4101	8023
						92035

Source: Gendered migration Survey, Mwanza 2011

With the help of the formula:

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$$S_n = \frac{n}{N} \times s$$

Where:

S_n = sample size of a particular ward.

n = total number of projected population aged 15 years and above of a particular ward.

N = total number of projected population aged 15 years and above of all four sampled wards.

s = sample size of the population studied.

The mini sample sizes obtained per each ward were as followed: Igoma – 112; Nyamanoro – 180; Mkuyuni – 73; and Buhongwa – 35. This made a total of 400. This breakdown indicates the distribution of the number of respondents for the survey.

A cross-sectional social survey based on a randomized multi-stage stratified design using proportionate population sizes of study areas was used to collect quantitative data. The required number of respondents per study area was computed using the same formula as outlined above, and the results are tabulated in Table 2.

Table 2: Percent distribution of respondents per core and control group

	Core group Females N = 101	Core group Males N = 99	Control group females N = 99	Control group males N = 101	Total
Igoma	25	25	25	25	112
Nyamanoro	25	25	25	25	180
Mkuyuni	24.7	26	26	24.7	74
Buhongwa	29.4	20.6	23.5	26.5	34

Source: Gendered migration Survey, Mwanza 2011

Names of study areas within the city were selected with the assistance of random table numbers. A pilot tested questionnaire (using the test-retest method), consisting of structured questions, was administered directly to 400 respondents, out of whom 200 comprised the control group. Analysis of the collected data was done with the aid of the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 12.0.

Qualitative data gathering

For the administration of focus group discussions, migrants (males and females separately), were selected from sentinel sites of the study wards of

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Mwanza city, using purposive snowball sampling as described by Kathuri and Pals (1993). Two focus group discussions were held in each sentinel site to collect qualitative information. The gathered data were analysed with the aid of ethnographic software.

Analysis of the Study Findings

4.1 The Socio-demographic Characteristics of respondents

Table 3 presents the characteristics of the 400 respondents in the study.

Table 3: Characteristics of the respondents

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

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

Source: Gendered migration Survey, Mwanza 2011

The data in Table 3 shows that half (50%) of the respondents were male and another half (50%) were females. Of all the respondents, 49% were

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married. The number of married respondents was higher for men (48.5%) than that of women (42.6%). There were a good number of single respondents for both men (26.3%) and women (22.8%), while widows/widowers, divorced, separated and co-habited were minorities for both male and female respondents. Fifty percent of the respondents belong to age range of 20-40 years. Generally, most respondents were relatively young, with a mean age of 27 years. However, there was a significant difference ($P < 5\%$) of age between female and male migrants; with male respondents being relatively older than women.

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

Perceived reasons for moving to Mwanza City

The respondents were asked about their perceptions of the reasons for moving to Mwanza city. The results were categorized by sex and by status of migration. Table 4 presents the results.

Table 4: Perceived reasons for moving to Mwanza City

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

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Note: N.A. Not Applicable

Source: Gendered migration Survey, Mwanza 2011

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

Results of the survey show four categories of female migrants. The first category consists of the young unmarried women with little formal education. Results in Table 4 indicate that 13.9% consist of unskilled young women who work at first as domestics. The second category consists of young women who moved to the city **as a result of the expansion of secondary education**. These also go to there in search of employment (paid employment or self-employment). The third category is of those who went into the city in search of a male partner who was financially well-off. The last category is that of the widowed, divorced and separated who also moved to the city in search of a better living. These tend to lead an autonomous life.

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

Education levels

Generally, most of the respondents completed primary school education, followed by secondary school education. Table 3 shows that about 0.7% of the respondents were not formally educated, while the rest had between adult (1.1%), primary (55.8%), secondary [(28.5% for ordinary level and (7.4%) for advanced level)], and tertiary education (3.3%). The findings showed very few of the respondents had attained college, vocational, or university level education. Nevertheless, there were relatively more men who had attained education above secondary level: **2.0% and 6.9% for men, compared to 0.0% and 4.1% for women**. These findings generally suggest that post-school education is still limited to minorities in Tanzania. It also suggests that enrolment rates for females are yet to be at par with that of males.

Not clear what these percentages stand for (cf. Table 3)
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The survey also revealed that the level of formal education for both sexes is lower than that of the non-migrants. Obviously there is a relationship between levels of education and types of work in Mwanza city, mainly in paid domestic jobs. It appears that jobs that absorb female migrants are polarized between domestic service and skilled activities. Polarization of employment in Mwanza city shows important differences in the education of migrants, especially female migrants who have comparatively lower education.

Sources of incomes and income levels

An analysis of the income levels between men and women reveal no significant difference, although men earned slightly higher: TAS 1,498,000 (2,194,699) compared to TAS 1,232,000 (2,853,354) for women per annum. Table 5 reveals a low disparity among the sexes. These findings are partly similar to those reported by Quisumbing (1996), which show a weak support to the argument that the poor are dominated by female-headed households. Their studies in 10 developing countries reveal few differences in income between male and female-headed households among the poor.

Table 5: Income earning per annum and sources of income (TAS)

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

Note: N.S = Not significant; Nos. in brackets indicates standard deviation

Source: Gendered migration Survey, Mwanza 2011

What do numbers in brackets stand for?

An examination of poverty levels shows no significant difference between men and women, although women's incomes were slightly higher than that of men at the income categories of TAS 10,000 to 1,000,000. But for incomes above 1,000,000, men's incomes were slightly higher than that of women. The results show that 13.0% and 14.6% of men and women, respectively, were under the poverty line. This is much lower than the national average of 33.6% (THBS, 2007).

Redraw in
black and
white.

**Figure 2: Income categories for male and female urban migrants
Employment in the informal sector**

We established earlier that most female migrants do not possess good educational, and as such it is difficult for them to be employed in the formal sector. The majority are educated up to primary and secondary levels (see Table 3). On the other hand, female migrants to Mwanza City are predominantly married (42.6%). This shows that there is a family economic burden that pushes them in search of employment. A significant percentage of migrants also belong to the unmarried women group (23.7%). These move to the city seeking employment in the informal sector. There are also women who are widowed, divorced or separated, who also move to the city's informal sector to seek employment.

4.2.1 Types of occupations

To discern the details of employment, as well as occupational status and daily income of migrants, it was important to establish the kind of activities they engaged in when they entered Mwanza City. Table 6 presents the results.

Table 6: Percent distribution of migrants by occupation and sex

Occupation	Males		Females	
	<i>Migrants</i>	<i>Non-migrants</i>	<i>Migrants</i>	<i>Non-migrants</i>
Craftswoman/craftsman	3 (3)	4 (4.0)	2 (2.0)	2 (2.0)
Helper in factory	6 (6.1)	5 (5.0)	20 (19.8)	23 (23.2)
Street vendor	40 (40.4)	46 (45.5)	24 (23.8)	20 (20.2)
Seller in shop	13 (13.1)	11 (10.9)	7 (6.9)	8 (8.1)

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Work in personal business	21 (21.2)	23 (22.8)	14 (13.9)	8 (8.1)
Domestic worker	1 (1.0)	-	14 (13.9)	16 (16.2)
Hair salon	3 (3)	5 (5.0)	13 (12.9)	17 (17.2)
Secretary	2 (2.0)	2 (2.0)	1 (1.0)	55.1)
Technician	2 (2.0)	4 (4.0)	2 (2.0)	-
Food seller	8 (8.1)	1 (1.0)	4 (4.0)	-
Total	99 (100.0)	101 (100.0)	101 (100.0)	99 (100.0)

Notes: percentages in brackets

Source: Gendered migration Survey, Mwanza 2011

Table 6 shows the absorption of women in different occupational sectors for both sexes. It further shows the actual employment status of migrants. It can be observed that nearly 24% of female migrants works as street vendors, while male migrants engaged in the same activity are about 40%. The majority of female migrants (20%) work as helpers in factories, whereas 14% work as domestic servants, and others in personal businesses. Also some migrant women work as secretaries, domestic servants, machine operators, helpers in factories and hair salons. For males, a significant proportion (40.4%) engages in street vending, and 21.2% in personal businesses. Very few (1.0%) works as domestics.

Number of jobs during the last one year

The study sought to establish the extent of permanency in activities that migrants of both sexes were doing. Table 7 summarizes the results.

Table 7: Percent distribution of number of jobs during the last one year

Category of job	2009		2010				2011					
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM
One job	80.0	78	85	77	77.0	77	82	76.5	88.3	86.1	84.4	81.6
Two or more jobs	5.9	6.1	3.4	6.8	5.0	8.6	3.3	9.5	1.2	2.7	11.2	10.8
No response	14.1	15.9	11.6	16.2	18.0	14.4	14.7	14	10.5	11.1	4.4	7.6

Notes: M = Migrants; NM = Non-Migrants

Source: Gendered migration Survey, Mwanza, 2011

Table 7 gives an idea on how many jobs a migrant had at the same time. It can be observed that during the period 2009-2011, the majority had only one job, a few had two or more than two jobs. Some migrants did not give any response about their job status. This means the majority of migrants

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were happy to stay in the same job even though their income may not have necessarily been sufficient.

Time period in a particular job

Table 8 shows the time period migrants work in a particular job. It is very interesting to observe that more than 90% of migrants were working in the same job throughout the year, whereas there were also women who worked for few months and days in the same job.

Table 8: Percent distribution of time period work in a particular job during 2009–2011

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

Notes: M = Migrants; NM = Non-Migrants

Source: Gendered migration Survey, Mwanza 2011

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

Employment and income

Employment and income are the two important aspects to understand the urban informal sector. Table 9 presents the average daily income of migrants in terms of TAS during the period 2009 – 2010, as well as their income per hour. In 2009 the average daily income of migrants was TAS 1500, whereas the average income per hour was TAS 120. After 2009, the average daily income of migrants, including their per hour income, reflect an increasing trend. In 2011 the average earning of male migrant was TAS 7,000, and for the female migrant was TAS 6000. Table 9 clearly shows that the daily income of migrants in the informal sector maintains a more or less stable trend, with some positive growth.

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Table 9: Percent distribution of migrants and non migrants by sex and by their daily income and income per hour (TAS) during 2009 – 2011

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

Source: Gendered migration Survey, Mwanza 2011

On the other hand, migrants in the informal sector had years of experience (see Table 10). This is mainly due to a good income in the informal sector, the lack of many opportunities in the formal sector, as well as the lack of the prerequisites to enter the formal sector.

Table 10: Percent distribution of migrants by sex and by years of experience in the informal sector during 2008-2011

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

Notes: M = Migrants; NM = Non-Migrants

Source: Gendered migration Survey, Mwanza 2011

Access to assets

A comparing of access to assets before and after migration shows that migrant vendors have improved their financial and human capital assets by getting better access to physical and **political capital assets** than before. However, with limited access to physical, financial and political capital assets, these migrants have to depend on natural and social capital for their livelihoods. Results of the study show a significant access to assets and owning property for female migrants. In a focus group discussion, one participants said:

Box 4.1: Access to assets

My coming to Mwanza city has enabled me to acquire assets which I would probably not have had I not decided to migrate to this city. Now I have a food stall which contributes more to my upkeep.

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Gender differentials in livelihoods of urban migrants

This sub-section evaluates the impact of rural-urban migration on the livelihood for female and male migrants in Mwanza city. It tries to investigate if migration is beneficial—in terms of increases in earnings—for female and male migrants in Tanzania. In most cases internal migration is a survival strategy that people adopt to seek, among others things, for better livelihoods in urban informal sectors. In this context the study explored increasing rural-urban migration, increase in the informal sector activities, and how this impacts on people's livelihood in the urban areas of Mwanza city.

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

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

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

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livelihood even though the majority indicated to stay in one occupation. In other words, while the breadwinner is engaged in one main occupation, other members of the household perform other economic activities to supplement their livelihood. This aspect was more apparent in female migrant households than in their male counterparts.

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

For what purposes?

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

Meaning?

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

Gender differential impacts of socio-economic behaviour of migrants in the urban areas on their areas of origin

Table 11 presents participation data in areas of origin and ownership of property. While male migrants have a house in their areas of origin (6.1%), female migrants have fewer houses (4.0%).

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Table 11: Participation in area of origin activities by male and female migrants

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

Notes: percentages are in brackets

Source: *Gendered migration Survey, Mwanza, 2011*

Judging by the data in Table 11, it appears that women migrants participate in activities in their areas of origin to a limited degree. Relatively few have contributed to local projects. However, this data must be viewed in terms of who these women migrants are in the sample. They have relatively low levels of education, and they work in primarily petty trade and domestic service. Moreover, these are the type of women who do not have money for acquiring property. This is because they work in exploitative insecure jobs, such as barmaids, sex workers, and even as domestic workers. However, it is worth mentioning here that almost universally women send home a higher proportion of their incomes than male migrants. The survey revealed that 17.8% of women migrants remit money to their areas of origin, as against 14.4% of male migrants. Nevertheless this increases their vulnerability, e.g., by living in cheap and often insecure habitats, and foregoing health checks and medical treatment.

Findings from a focus group discussion indicate that female migrants have a weaker participation rate in their places of origin, but in contrast they have a strong attachment. All migrants that participated in the discussion reported that they regularly visit their hometowns.

Box 4.2: Strong Attachment in areas of origin

We are just visitors here, whereas our place of emphasis is at home, attachment to home is always

Even

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

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

Conclusion

The first objective of this study was to determine gender differentials in migration in relation to employment absorption in the urban informal sector. The main finding has been that most female migrants do not possess good educational preparation; something that makes it difficult for them to get employment in the formal sector. The majority of female migrants are engaged in informal sector activities, while besides also performing activities in the informal sector, some male migrants have managed to climb the ladder into the formal sector. The bridge of employment opportunities for female migrants into the formal sector can only be built by providing females with more education. Thus, there is a need to provide more educational opportunities to women so that they can be competitive in the labour market.

The second objective was to assess gender differential changes among migrants on access to assets before and after migration to urban areas. Results have shown that on migration to urban centres, female migrants increase their capacity to access and own physical properties, which they control independently. This development minimizes the disparity between the sexes. Regardless of sex, migration provides for more autonomy and access to assets and property to all migrants, and thus increases freedom not only to themselves but also to their households.

The third objective was to assess gender differential changes in the livelihoods of migrants. The main finding is that, despite their low income, female migrants increase their capacity to lead a better life in the same way as male migrants do since they access more resources and have freedom of utilization of those resources. In spite of staying in one particular occupation for a long time, they also get the advantage of engaging members of their households in other economic activities to earn more money for their upkeep.

The last objective of the study was to examine gender differential impacts of socio-economic behaviour of migrants on their areas of origin. Results have shown that despite the fact that female migrants do not feature much in development projects being executed in their areas of origin, they are

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good in terms of remittances that help in meeting household expenses such as school fees, clothing, buying of cattle and expansion of farms. It is recommended that governments should support female migration as it empowers women, sometimes even more than male migrants.

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