

# Rural migrants in Morogoro city

Looking for “maisha”, a better life

**Jorieke Irene Kloek**





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## Preface

This research is made to complete my Master 'International Development'. When I started my Master-thesis, I only had very general ideas about what I wanted to do. My interest lay in the topic of migration. Therefore, I wanted to do a field research on this topic somewhere. I also wanted to combine my different interests in economics, communication and social psychology, as I also did in the rest of my Master-study. Finally, it was due to my study-advisor Sudha Loman that I arranged a brainstorm-session with Gerrit Antonides. Mrs. Loman advised me to talk with Mr. Antonides, as he was working in "just such a strange combination of several scientific schools". The brainstorm-session with Gerrit Antonides was very interesting and brought me to this topic of rural-to-urban migration in Tanzania. I found a second supervisor for this study, Rein Haagsma, and then my research could begin.

I started with a literature research, which was very interesting. But after some months, the best part of the research began. I left to Tanzania for three months to do field research. I have enjoyed that time very much, although it was hard to miss my boyfriend, my family and friends. However, it was great to experience such a different life in another continent. I really enjoyed doing the interviews, as the respondents were so open about their life stories and so enthusiastic about the research. After my time in Tanzania, I struggled a bit with the results, but finally, some interesting conclusions can be made based on the results of the fieldwork in Tanzania.

It took me some time to complete this research. I struggled with CANS, Complaints of Arms, Neck and Shoulder. Therefore, I worked on my research for a longer period than I expected before, but what does it matter as in the end this learning process resulted in the interesting study you are starting to read. Also my stay in Tanzania took a longer time as I included a break for a holiday with my mother and sister to explore nature and animal life in the country. Overall, I have learned a lot during the process of research, both about doing research as well as about myself. Finally, I can say that I am proud of this research and I hope it can lead to a better understanding about rural-to-urban migration.

Without support, I could not have made this study. There are several persons I would like to thank in particular. First of all, I thank my supervisors Rein Haagsma and Gerrit Antonides. They helped me in the process of developing this study, with several fruitful discussions and feedback. I also thank my field research supervisor in Tanzania, Romanus Dimoso. He made sure that I could start my field research and that I would have a good time in Tanzania. Then, my special thanks are going to the Foundation Jo Kolk Study Fund, as they supported me with a generous financial contribution for the field research in Tanzania. Next to that, I thank the Chair group 'Development Economics' and the Chair group 'Economics of Consumers and Households' for the payment of the research clearance needed for research in Tanzania. I thank Mzumbe University, who gave me a warm welcome in Tanzania. Moreover, I thank my translators, Veronica, Anita and Witness; without them I could not have done the interviews. And of course, I thank the twenty-five respondents of this research, who told me so many of their personal stories.

I also would like to thank my family, who supported me during this process. My father Nico, for the mental support he gave me. My mother Gerry, for her positive view on the research. My sister Marjolein, with whom I had several helpful discussions about this study. I also thank my partner Ronald, Marjolein and Gerry for their critical notes and help with editing. Finally, I would like to thank Ronald because he supported me in so many ways and he had to miss me for a long time during to my field research in Tanzania. Ronald, thank you so much!

Jorieke Irene Kloek



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## Summary

Migration is “the movement of people from one geographical location to another within and beyond a country of normal residence” (Held, 1999, p. 283). Migration affects the migrant’s self, but also the place of origin and the place of destination. The type of migration studied in this research is intra-national, voluntary, rural-to-urban migration on a permanent basis, either in a legal or clandestine way.

In this study, the focus is on migration to the city Morogoro in Tanzania. In Tanzania, many people live in the rural area. Many of them work as a farmer, herdsman or fisherman. Other jobs are scarce. Often, the housing is primitive, sometimes without piped water and electricity. The majority of the people living in the rural area is poor. Therefore, many people decide to move away from the rural area to a city, where more jobs are available. Morogoro is such a city to which many people from the rural area migrate. It is a medium large town with about 300,000 inhabitants, of which about ten percent are migrants. The population increase due to migration has a big impact on Morogoro and its inhabitants. Therefore, in this study a migrant is defined as an adult who freely decided to move away from the rural area into Morogoro city at the age of sixteen or older, living in Morogoro for at least half a year.

Many migration theories explain that the decision to migrate is based on economic reasons. This study investigates whether there exist other important reasons to migrate next to the economic reasons. This study also aims to get more insight in what is happening with a migrant after migration. Therefore, the objective of this research is to get more insight in the experiences of a rural-to-urban migrant in Tanzania with regard to his or her decision to migrate. The main research question is *what are the experiences of a rural-to-urban migrant in Morogoro with regard to his or her reasons to migrate?* This research question is answered by using several sub questions, namely:

- 1) *For which reasons do people migrate from the rural area to Morogoro?*
- 2) *How relevant are labour migration theories in explaining why migrants move from the rural area to Morogoro?*
- 3) *How do migrants who moved from the rural area to Morogoro currently evaluate their original reasons to migrate?*
- 4) *How did the decision to migrate to Morogoro change the satisfaction with life in general and the satisfaction with specific domains of life?*
- 5) *What are reasons for rural migrants living in Morogoro to remain in Morogoro?*
- 6) *Are there reasons for rural migrants living in Morogoro that make them consider returning to the place of origin? And if so, what are these reasons?*
- 7) *What is the relationship between the initial reasons to migrate and the current reasons to stay in Morogoro?*

To get more insight in this topic, first a theoretical review has been done. Two groups of theories are discussed. The first group consists of migration theories, which try to explain the reasons why people migrate based on an economic perspective. The first theory is the push-pull model of migration, which outlines that a person decides to migrate due to both push and pull factors, respectively from the place of origin and the place of destination. The second migration theory is the (neo-)classical one, which argues that migration is caused by geographical differences in the supply and demand of labour. The third, human capital theory, emphasizes the importance of personal characteristics in the decision to migrate. Fourth, the new economics of labour migration theory explains that a migration decision can be a decision made on the household level, in which income maximization and risk aversion both play a role. Finally, the theory of social capital puts emphasis on the importance of having a migrants' network. A second group of theories is that of subjective well-being, which emphasizes how satisfied people are with their life in general and with specific domains of their life. The specific domains

of life used in this study are those of health, economic, job, family, friendship, personal and community environment. When people migrate, their well-being might change. However, almost no research has been done on this topic.

To answer the research question, a qualitative research of twenty-five interviews has been executed with rural-to-urban migrants in Morogoro. In the interviews, some information is asked about the background of the respondent, about the reasons to migrate, about the evaluation of the decision to migrate, about the satisfaction with life and about the current situation of the migrant. The respondents are selected in different neighbourhoods in town, based on whether someone migrated from the rural area to Morogoro as an adult and is living in Morogoro for at least half a year. If a person corresponds to the definition of a migrant in this study, he or she was asked to participate in the research.

Some respondents lived nearby Morogoro before migration, while others came from far away. Both males and females were interviewed, between 18 and 70 years old. Some lived in Morogoro for a long time, others for a short while. Some respondents were married, others were single. Almost all respondents worked, only a few were housewives and one respondent was retired.

The results are summarized in a set of tables. The respondents were grouped according to their reasons to migrate. This led to three groups of respondents. The biggest group were the respondents who migrated for economic reasons. Many people migrated to find “maisha”, a better life: finding a job, earning more income and escaping from the hardship of life in the rural area. Therefore, it can be concluded that economic reasons are important in the decision to migrate. However, a second, and smaller, group of respondents migrated for family reasons. One respondent migrated because of her study in the city. Therefore, it can be concluded other reasons to migrate exist as well.

For the group of rural-to-urban migrants who came for economic reasons, the theory of social capital, the push-pull model of migration and the theory of human capital have the most explanatory power. The (neo-)classical model of Todaro is partly relevant, and the new economics of labour migration is not relevant. For the other two reasons to migrate, namely family circumstances and study, no theories exist.

Almost all migrants are positive about their decision to migrate. The respondents experience a better life in Morogoro. However, although the migrants do experience an increase in their satisfaction with life in general, still only a few migrants are satisfied with their life in general. The rest are a bit satisfied or dissatisfied with their life in general. The migrants were more satisfied with the specific domains of life than with life in general. In this research, the economic and the job domains of life appeared to highly influence the satisfaction with life in general. The other domains are less influential.

The relation that the migrants have with the place of origin is often still intimate. Several respondents also would like to live there again. However, most migrants remain living in Morogoro as they can earn a proper income there. Still, the place of origin is attractive for several migrants because it remains their home, where their family is living.

For some respondents the reasons to migrate to Morogoro are similar with the reasons to remain living in Morogoro. However, some migrants remain living in Morogoro for other reasons than for their initial reasons to migrate to Morogoro.

Overall, it is concluded that migration occurs as people are looking for a better life. Many migrants migrate for economic reasons, but also family circumstances or study can make someone decide to migrate. The migrants regard their decision to migrate as a good decision, because they experience an increase in their satisfaction with life in general. However, only a few respondents are satisfied with their life. For most respondents their life did improve due to migration, but still not enough to be completely satisfied with their life.

## Chapter 1 Introduction

Migration is a process of all ages. Migration changes the life of the migrant, as well as it changes the life of the family and friends who stay behind. Also at the place of destination, things might change as life becomes busier. If migration has such an impact on peoples' lives and thereby on a society, it is important to have a deep understanding of the migration process. This study therefore focuses on why people migrate and what happens with them after migration. In particular, this study focuses on rural-to-urban migration, as this type of migration is very common and it has a large impact on both the rural and the urban area. Because migration is an important part of the livelihood of many people in Sub-Saharan Africa, the focus of this study is on Sub-Saharan Africa, and specifically on a medium large town in Tanzania.

In the first section of this chapter, the meaning of migration is discussed. In Section 1.2, the focus of this study is discussed. Section 1.3 describes the migration flows in Tanzania and Morogoro. Section 1.4 outlines the research objective and research questions. Section 1.5 will shortly explain the theories used in this study, which is followed by a description of the methods used in this study in Section 1.6. Finally, Section 1.7 gives an overview of what will be discussed in the next chapters.

### *1.1 What is migration?*

Migration refers to "the movement of people from one geographical location to another within and beyond a country of normal residence" (Held, 1999, p.283). Migration is often seen as an exception, but it should be seen as the norm: migration is present in every historical study and it is embedded in the society's strategies to obtain a livelihood (de Haan, 1999). During the ages, both individuals as well as tribes moved from one location to another, for example to avoid a war or to look for new land or new opportunities for a living. When focussing on Sub-Saharan Africa, this process is also visible. For example Conde describes Africa as "a theatre for large population movements" (1984, p. 3).

Migration can occur in many different forms. People migrate for a short period or on a permanent basis, over short or long distances and either alone or with a group (du Toit, 1990).

Van Dijk et al. (2001) used six criteria to identify the variety of migration:

- Geo-administrative: international versus intra-national migration;
- The place of origin and destination: rural-to-rural, rural-to-urban, urban-to-rural and urban-to-urban;
- The duration of migration: permanent versus temporary, in which temporary is common in the form of seasonal or circular migration;
- The possibility of choice: forced refugees versus voluntary migration out of free will;
- Legality: legal versus clandestine migration;
- The migrants' motivation: the reasons for migration.

### *1.2 The focus of this study*

When focussing on contemporary Sub-Saharan Africa, migration is happening everywhere. Both international as well as intra-national migration is occurring. The type of migration focussed upon in this study is intra-national, voluntary, rural-to-urban

migration, on a permanent basis and either in a legal or a clandestine way. Voluntary migration is chosen because in this type of migration people actually make a choice between migration and staying at home. This choice is based on certain reasons; while with forced migration, people do not have any other possibility than migration, for example because of war. Intra-national migration is chosen because this type of migration is most common in Sub-Saharan Africa. Rural-to-urban migration is chosen because in Sub-Saharan Africa most migration has been to urban areas (du Toit, 1990). Besides that, rural-to-urban migration can have a large impact on both the rural area and the urban area. One example is the concern for over-urbanization due to rural-urban migration (Tacoli, 1998). This is why rural-to-urban migration gets most attention in scientific literature. Migration on a more permanent basis is chosen because migrants who move on a permanent basis will make an effort in settling down in the new place they migrated to. Therefore, migrants who move on a more permanent basis will more deeply consider all the options they have and feel stronger for their reasons to migrate. Also, the life of these migrants will change due to migration as they cannot maintain all their activities and contacts in the place of origin, which might have an impact on the satisfaction they feel with their life.

As already mentioned before, the focus of this study is on contemporary Sub-Saharan Africa. To be more specific, the research area of this study is on a medium large city in Tanzania, namely on Morogoro. Morogoro is selected for this research because many migrants are living there and because no research about migration is done in that area. Besides that, the contact between Wageningen University and Mzumbe University in Morogoro strengthens the execution of research.

The focus of this study is on individuals who are capable of making a decision to migrate based on a consideration of several reasons. Therefore, the focus of this study is on adults. An adult is regarded as a person who is of an age above sixteen. Moreover, as the focus of this research is on migrants who move on a more permanent basis, the migrants should be living in Morogoro for at least half a year.

In summary, in this study a migrant is conceptualized as an adult who freely decided to move away from the rural area into Morogoro city at the age of sixteen or older, living in Morogoro for at least half a year.

### *1.3 Migration flows within Tanzania and in Morogoro*

It is difficult to get up-to-date and reliable data about migration. Censuses, the principle source of information, do not occur very often in Sub-Saharan Africa (Cohen, 2004). Besides that, the censuses do not focus on migration. However, still some data is available, although there remains some uncertainty around these numbers. When looking to the rural-urban distribution of the population of Tanzania from 1967 to 2002, there has been a large increase in the percentage of people living in the urban areas: in 1967 it was just 6.4 percent while in 2002 already 23.1 percent of the population lived in urban areas (National Bureau of Statistics, 2006). These data imply that rural-to-urban migration is important in Tanzania.

In 2002 was in total 9.6 percent of the inhabitants living in Morogoro migrants according to the Morogoro Municipal Council (2009). Assuming that the percentage of migrants living in Morogoro did not change much in comparison with 2002, and knowing that the total population of Morogoro city in 2010 is almost 305,000 people (Morogoro Municipal Council, 2010), this means that in 2010 about 30,000 inhabitants of Morogoro are migrants.

The Morogoro Municipal Council describes the composition of Morogoro as follows: "the composition of the current population is getting more cosmopolitan due to

the influx of workers, businessmen and fortune seekers from different regions of Tanzania, as well as from outside the country.” (Morogoro Municipal Council, 2009, p. 1).

#### *1.4 Research objective and research questions*

As mentioned before, migration is an important aspect of human life. In literature, the emphasis is upon labour migration. Much theoretical knowledge on labour migration is available. Also on the empirical part of this topic, a lot of large-scale surveys and longitudinal studies are done. Although it cannot be argued that several migrants move for economic reasons, there might exist other possible reasons to voluntarily decide to migrate. These other reasons are not taken into account in the migration theories and empirical studies. This study therefore aims at getting a better view of all reasons and factors associated with the migration decision.

Moreover, while a lot is written about the decision to migrate, much less is written about what is happening after migration. How do people evaluate their reasons to migrate? And what make people stay in the city and not return to the place of origin? Are these the same reasons as their original reasons to migrate?

The objective of this research therefore is *to get more insight in the experiences of a rural-to-urban migrant in Tanzania with regard to his or her decision to migrate*. This will create new knowledge in order to improve theories about migration. This is useful for future policies and for getting a better understanding of the process of migration. Central in this study is the perspective of the migrants themselves. How do they evaluate their decision to migrate? And are their reasons to migrate still important for remaining in the city?

To get more insight on the experiences of a rural-to-urban migrant, a case study is executed in Morogoro, a medium large city in Tanzania. This research objective can be translated in the main research question:

*What are the experiences of a rural-to-urban migrant in Morogoro with regard to his or her reasons to migrate?*

To answer this question, several sub questions have been developed:

- 1) For which reasons do people migrate from the rural area to Morogoro?*
- 2) How relevant are labour migration theories in explaining why migrants move from the rural area to Morogoro?*
- 3) How do migrants who moved from the rural area to Morogoro currently evaluate their original reasons to migrate?*
- 4) How did the decision to migrate to Morogoro change the satisfaction with life in general and the satisfaction with specific domains of life?*
- 5) What are reasons for rural migrants living in Morogoro to remain in Morogoro?*
- 6) Are there reasons for rural migrants living in Morogoro that make them consider returning to the place of origin? And if so, what are these reasons?*
- 7) What is the relationship between the initial reasons to migrate and the current reasons to stay in Morogoro?*

## *1.5 Theories used in this study*

In order to be able to answer these research questions, two groups of theories will be discussed. These are migration theory and subjective well-being theory.

Migration theory tries to explain the reasons why people migrate. There exist several theories, which are all based on an economic perspective. A first theory is the push-pull model of migration. According to this theory, a person can decide to migrate due to both push factors, which are associated with the place of origin, and pull factors, which are associated with the place of destination. Another theory is the (neo-)classical theory, in which migration is caused by geographical differences in the supply and demand of labour. The third theory is the human capital theory, which builds on these previous two theories, but adds the importance of personal characteristics. Fourth, the new economics of labour migration emphasizes that a migration decision can be a joint decision made by the household, in which risk aversion plays an important role in the decision to migrate. Finally, the theory of social capital stresses the importance of having relationships with other migrants in the decision to migrate.

The theory of subjective well-being focuses on how people themselves assess their own life. It focuses on their satisfaction with life in general and with regard to some specific domains of life. When people migrate, their subjective well-being might change. However, the consequences of migration to subjective well-being is a relatively new area of migration research (De Jong et al., 2002), therefore not much is known about this topic. This study tries to add on this relatively new area of research.

## *1.6 Methods used in this study*

For this study, twenty-five interviews have been executed with rural-to-urban migrants in Morogoro. These interviews have been executed with the use of an interview guide, which was prepared beforehand. The interview guide contained semi-structured, open-ended questions. In this way, the important topics would all be discussed, while at the same time the respondents would remain free to say anything they wanted to say. The interviewing process was based on data saturation.

After all the interviews were executed, the respondents were categorized based on the reasons they named for their decision to migrate. This led to three groups of respondents. Then it was researched how these groups differ with regard to their evaluation of the decision to migrate, to the satisfaction with life in general and with the specific domains of life and to the reasons to remain in Morogoro or to consider returning home to the place of origin.

## *1.7 Overview of this study*

This research is about peoples' reasons to migrate from the rural area to the urban area of Morogoro, Tanzania. Above this, this research will also pay attention to the life of the migrant in Morogoro city. It is asked how the satisfaction with life in general, as well as the satisfaction with several specific domains of life is changed due to migration. Also, more attention is paid to the reasons of the migrant to remain in Morogoro and to what makes that a migrant feels the desire to return to the place of origin or not.

This study consists of several parts. In Chapter 2, an overview is given of different theories that exist about the reasons for migration. The push-pull model of migration will be discussed, followed by the (neo-)classical theory, the human capital theory and the



new economics of labour migration theory. Finally, the theory of social capital will be discussed.

In Chapter 3, the theory of subjective well-being is outlined. First, it is explained what the term subjective well-being exactly means. Several domains of life are delineated, followed by a discussion about variables that influence the overall level of subjective well-being. Several measuring methods of subjective well-being are discussed and finally the link between subjective well-being and rural-to-urban migration is discussed.

The methodology used in this study is outlined in Chapter 4. This chapter first describes the rural versus the urban area and more attention is paid to both areas. Also, the background of the respondents of this research is outlined. Finally, the analysis used in this study is discussed.

Following, Chapter 5 shows the results of this research. The reasons to migrate are analysed, as well as the determinants of labour migration. After this, the evaluation of the respondents about their decision to migrate will be discussed. The satisfaction with life in general and with the specific domains of life will be outlined, followed by the reasons of the migrants to remain living in Morogoro or to consider returning to the place of origin. Finally, the differences between the groups and the influence of personal characteristics will be discussed.

Chapter 6 gives the conclusion and discussion of this research. First, the research question and its sub-questions are answered. After this, the research is put in a broader perspective and evaluated. The limitations of the field research are discussed and some suggestions for further research are given. Finally, some policy recommendations are made.



## Chapter 2 Migration theories, the reasons for people to migrate

Why do some Tanzanian people migrate? There are many economic theories about migration, all focussing on different aspects of migration. In this chapter, several theories will be explained and discussed. In Section 2.1, the push-pull model of migration will be discussed. Section 2.2 describes the (neo-)classical theory. Two main theories from this school will be discussed, namely the Lewis model in Section 2.2.1 and the Todaro model in Section 2.2.2. In Section 2.3, the human capital theory will be discussed. Section 2.4 focuses on the new economics of labour migration and in Section 2.5 the theory of social capital will be discussed. The chapter will conclude with an evaluation of the different theories in Section 2.6.

### *2.1 Push-pull model of migration*

The push-pull model of migration of Lee (1966) is one of the mostly used models with respect to migration. Lee developed this model especially to explain the volume of migration and focussed on the factors which enter into the decision to migrate (Lee, 1966). He distinguished push factors, which are associated with the place of origin, and pull factors, which are associated with the place of destination. In both the place of origin as well as in the place of destination, many different factors can either attract people to it or push people away. Besides that, intervening obstacles and personal factors can be identified. Examples of intervening obstacles are distance, physical barriers and immigration laws. Examples of personal factors are intelligence, awareness of conditions elsewhere, but also whether somebody has a personality that is resistant or welcome to change. The personal factors can differ per stage in someone's life cycle.

As Lee (1966) emphasizes, the set of positive and negative factors at both the origin and the destination varies for every migrant. However, there are some differences between the factors associated with the place of origin and the place of destination. First, migrants often have more knowledge about the place of origin than about the place of destination. Second, the place of origin often receives an over-evaluation of the positive elements and an under-evaluation of the negative elements because migrants are attached to the place of origin. Therefore, the balance in favour of the move must be enough to overcome these two factors and must be large enough to overcome the intervening obstacles of distance, physical barriers and immigration laws.

Furthermore, Lee (1966) theorized that migrants who respond primarily to pull factors at the place of destination are under no necessity to migrate but perceive opportunities from afar. They often are highly educated. These people move because they see positive opportunities elsewhere, and not because of negative situations at the place of origin. At the other hand, migrants responding to the push factors at the place of origin move to get out of the negative situation at home. These people are often people who have failed economically or socially. These people often are less educated. With increasing intervening obstacles, the amount of people who move due to negative factors at the place of origin will reduce more than the amount of people who move because of the positive factors of the place of destination. Besides that, Lee emphasizes that there are certain stages in life in which people migrate more, for example, people who enter the labour force or get married.

Tacoli summarizes this well by stating that the "decisions to move are made at the individual level in response to hardships in source areas (the "push" factors) and to perceived comparative advantage in destination areas {} (Tacoli, 1998, p. 154).

In the push-pull model of Lee (1966), it is emphasized that it is the individual who perceives the push and pull factors. Because of that, it can be seen as a model that explains migration at the micro-level. The difficulty with the theory is that it does not offer a specific explanation for the movement. What exactly are the push and pull factors? These are not distinguished in the model; the only thing known about is that it can differ per person.

Besides that, when thinking about a factor, how could it be known whether this is a push or a pull factor? A factor such as income can be a push factor, when income is below the subsistence level, or a pull factor, when high wages are offered in the cities.

The model thus remains on an abstract level of explanation for migration, avoiding becoming concrete in factors causing migration. This makes it difficult to put the theory in practice. However, it can be used in this study to see whether there are specific push and pull factors important in the decision to migrate from the rural area to the city.

## *2.2 (Neo-)classical theory*

The (neo-)classical perspective on migration is also a very common theory on migration. It can be used on the macro- as well as on the micro-level. Massey et al. (1993) give a good overview of this theory. They emphasize that in this theory migration is caused by geographical differences in the supply and demand of labour. Workers will move from regions with a large endowment of labour relative to capital, so from areas where a low market wage exists, to regions in which there is a limited endowment of labour relative to capital and therefore have a high market wage (Massey et al., 1993). At the micro-level, individuals are seen as rational decision makers who migrate for better economic opportunities.

Following, in Section 2.2.1 the Lewis model (1954) of migration will be discussed, which is a macro-level (neo-)classical theory. In Section 2.2.2 the micro-level (neo-)classical theory of Todaro (1969) will be discussed.

### 2.2.1 Lewis model

Lewis (1954) can be seen as the founder of the macro-level (neo-)classical theory on migration. In Lewis' model on migration, there exists an unlimited supply of labour at subsistence wages. This is possible as in several sectors more labour is available than needed, which cause a negligible marginal productivity of labour. The main sector in which there is more labour available than needed is agriculture, but also labour is supplied from sources as casual labour, petty trade, females in the household who start working and an overall increase of population. In these sectors, the marginal productivity of labour is negligible, zero or negative. This large supply of labour makes an expansion of new industries possible without creating a shortage of unskilled labour. These new industries can be seen as the capitalist sector, which uses reproducible capital and requires labour. For these capitalist sectors to grow, they need labour from the subsistence sector, which is not using reproducible capital and whereby the output per head is lower. The capitalist sector can continue to recruit labour until the labour surplus disappears. The wage that the expanding capitalist sector pays is determined by what people can earn outside that sector. The earnings in the subsistence sector are the floor of the wages and the wages in the capitalist sector must stand at a certain minimum level above that. Lewis (1954) also emphasizes there might be other ways how the transfer of labour stops within a country. However, abundant labour is then often still available in other countries at a subsistence wage. In this way, the process can continue.

A critique to this model is that it is a one-sided point of view in which economic decision making tends to be isolated (de Haan, 1999). Besides that, it assumes perfect markets (Taylor & Martin, 2001).

This model shows the importance of income in the case of migration. But the theory of Lewis is less useful for this study, because it focuses on macro-level factors. The focus of this study is on the individual decision to migrate.

### 2.2.2 Todaro model

An important theory within the (neo-)classical perspective on the micro-level is the Todaro model (Todaro, 1969). This theory explains the continuing rural-to-urban migration while at the same time high levels of unemployment do exist in the city. The basis of this theory is a two-sector internal trade model with unemployment, in which the two sectors are the urban and the rural sector (Harris & Todaro, 1970).

The main assumption of the Todaro model is that each individual who decides to migrate, does so on the basis of an implicit, expected income maximization objective (Todaro, 1969). The decision to migrate depends on the existing rural-urban wage differential and the probability of getting a job in the city. For the calculation of the probability of getting a job, both the short-term as well as the long-term probability can be taken into account. This is useful because migration can be understood as a two-stage phenomenon. In the first stage, the rural worker will migrate and be unemployed or have simple small jobs, while at the second stage the migrant attains a more permanent modern sector job. So the short-term probability of getting a job might be more negative, but due to the long-term probability, it might be economically rational to migrate. This probability of getting a job, either on the short term or on the long term, directly influences the amount of migration: a lower probability should result in a slowing down of rural-urban migration.

With a positive probability of getting a job, rural-urban migration will continue as long as the expected urban real income exceeds real agricultural income. One assumption of the model is that there exists a large pool of unemployed workers who are waiting for a modern sector job, which is assumed to create a “periodic random job selection process” (Harris & Todaro, 1970, p. 127). According to Harris and Todaro (1970), the expected urban wage will be defined as equal to the fixed minimum wage times the proportion of the urban labour force that is employed. Often the urban minimum wage is substantially higher than would occur in a free market, which finally leads to equilibrium with unemployment.

According to Taylor and Martin (2001), the model uses a number of restrictive assumptions:

- Urban job allocation follows a simple lottery mechanism;
- A neglect of the competitive informal sector acts as a sponge for surplus labour;
- There is a rigid urban-sector wage;
- Time horizons and discount rates are required to equate the present values of expected urban and rural incomes;
- Other influences that shape potential migrants' decisions are ignored.

Although Taylor and Martin give some points of critique to this model based on the restrictive assumptions that do not reflect the real world, the model gives a clear economic explanation of the decision to migrate. Expected income and job uncertainty can indeed be important factors in the individuals' decision to migrate. These factors will thus be taken into account in this study.

## *2.3 Human capital theory*

The human capital theory builds on these theories, but adds to it the importance of personal characteristics such as education, age, marital status and skills. This theory, developed by Sjaastad (1962), treats the decision to migrate as an “investment increasing the productivity of human resources” (Sjaastad, 1962, p. 83). It involves the individuals’ costs and returns to migration, but it also emphasizes the public costs and returns to migration.

According to Sjaastad (1962) the private costs of migration include both monetary and non-monetary costs. The monetary costs include the expenses of the movement, the increase in expenditure for food, housing and transportation and the high distance costs of migration. These high distance costs of migration can be partly explained by market imperfections such as a lack of information. As non-monetary costs, both psychic costs and opportunity costs of migration are included. Psychic costs contain costs because of leaving familiar surroundings, family and friends. However, these are difficult to quantify. Opportunity costs include earnings forgone while travelling, searching for a job and learning a new job. However, it is debatable whether these opportunity costs are really non-monetary costs or whether they can be included to the monetary costs. For Byerlee (1974), non-monetary costs of migration includes risk related to migration, costs of breaking old and setting up new social contacts, costs of overcrowding and costs of pollution.

According to Sjaastad (1962), the monetary private returns to migration consists of the increased earnings obtained by the movement. This income differential might be determined by factors as occupation, age, sex, education and experience. The non-monetary private returns are about the preference of the individual for the particular place. However, these are difficult to measure. Byerlee (1974) also includes the presence of social amenities, such as getting more prestige with an urban job, to the non-monetary returns.

Besides that, Sjaastad (1962) emphasizes that the migrant does not bear all the costs neither does he receive all the rewards for his migration. The fact is that migration also involves costs and rewards to non-migrants. Unfortunately, Sjaastad (1962) does not give an exhaustive overview of the differences between this private and social costs and returns, but only gives some examples. For example, migration can redistribute labour in such a way that an optimum allocation of labour is reached. However, when wages are not freely determined in the different areas, this optimum will not be reached and a divergence between private and social costs of migration will occur.

As Byerlee (1974) shows, this theory can explain some selectivity in the process of migration. For example, school-leavers are more likely to migrate because the urban returns to education are higher, they have a longer time horizon to take advantage of the benefits of migration, they face fewer risks and lower opportunity and travel costs. In contrast, the costs of the head of a household would be higher because of the support of the family and the risk of not obtaining a job. Thus, psychic costs are low for school-leavers and increase with age.

The question why a specific person did migrate and other household members did not, could be explained properly by this theory. It will be interesting to look in what way personal characteristics influence the decision to migrate. Because of that, this theory is interesting for this study and several variables of it will be taken into account.

## *2.4 New economics of labour migration*

The new economics of labour migration also builds on the (neo-)classical theory, but tries to increase the narrow focus on wage of the Todaro model. Stark and Bloom (1985) emphasize that the individual migrant is not necessarily the decision-making unit, as it can also be the household, his or her family or the group that the migrant belongs to where costs and returns are shared. In such a group, there exists an implicit contractual arrangement between the migrant and the group of people staying behind in which for example remittances are very important. This joint migration decision can create more welfare but is also useful for risk handling.

According to Stark and Levhari (1982) migration can be explained by an aversion to risk, both on the household level and on the individual level. On the household level, migration can be seen as an investment to diversify the household income portfolio and with that, it is a mechanism to manage risk.

As Katz and Stark (1986) mention, in developing countries there are market failures such as an imperfect capital market and incomplete and imperfect information, which can influence the decision on the household level. Massey et al. (1993) explained these imperfections on the capital market more precisely and shows the role of migration:

- The agricultural insurance market: when investing into sowing a crop, the family is betting that the investment will pay off at a future date when the crop is sold. Between the time of planting the crop and harvesting it, something can happen that might reduce the harvest, which will lead the family with insufficient income or food. The same goes for other kinds of agricultural products. For example, also introducing a new technology can create risk. In a lot of developing countries insurance for these kinds of risks is not available. To manage this, the family can send one or more workers abroad to remit earnings and to guarantee family income.
- Future markets: the price for an agricultural product may drop below the expected level, which will leave the family with insufficient income. In developed countries, future markets make it possible to sell the product at a guaranteed price. However, in developing countries, this possibility often does not exist or families do not have access to it. Migration of one or more members of the family then can be seen as a way of self-insurance against these risks of price fluctuations.
- Unemployment insurance: if local employment levels fall, or when a family member is injured or loses his job, the household's income may be threatened. If employment conditions of different areas are uncorrelated, or even negatively correlated, than migration of one of the family members can reduce risk and guarantee some steady stream of income.
- Credit market: to increase the productivity of the families assets, often capital is needed to make additional investments. Often, savings institutions are unreliable in developing countries, and also funds are difficult to get and can include high transaction costs. Migration of one or more members of the family can be seen as an alternative source of capital to finance improvements.

These market failures, such as imperfect insurance markets but also new technology, can lead to higher risks for the household (Stark & Levhari, 1982). According to Stark and Levhari (1982), the decision for one member of the family to migrate can be seen as a good way to diminish risk by spreading the risks.

Risk is also a source of dissatisfaction on the individual level. Because agricultural production always includes some risk, it can be interesting for an individual to migrate to the city even though initial risks on migrating are very high. When these risks will diminish with time and may become smaller than those associated with agriculture, it can

be a good strategic choice to accept these initial higher risks. In this way, the individual trades the medium-level risks for immediate higher but later lower risks.

With migration as an informal strategy to manage risks because of imperfect capital markets, the new economics of labour migration can explain why migration is still occurring when the expected income in the urban area is not larger than the expected income in the rural area (Katz & Stark, 1986). The new economics of labour migration predicts that migration will especially occur from the rural areas of high production potential if there are capital market imperfections. This is in contrast with Todaro's hypothesis in which the migration stream for rural areas of high production potential would be the least (Katz & Stark, 1986).

Within the framework of the new economics of labour migration, one specific theory has been developed. This theory is called the theory of relative deprivation. This theory is also interesting for this study. Stark and Bloom (1985) developed this theory within the new economics of labour migration. As Stark and Bloom point out, the decision to migrate is not only based on absolute income considerations, but also on interpersonal income comparisons with a reference group. A person might migrate to change his relative position in comparison with a reference group, or to change the reference group. So according to Stark and Bloom (1985), a person which is relatively deprived has a stronger incentive than someone who is relatively satisfied. As Katz and Stark (1986) emphasize, the greater the wealth of a person in comparison with his reference group, the greater will be his utility. In this way, migration can improve the rank with regard to the rural-origin reference groups by more than what was possible when staying in the rural area (Katz & Stark, 1986). Stark and Bloom (1985) noted that this can become a continuous process: as some individuals migrate, non-migrants can perceive more relative deprivation, which can create an incentive to migrate also for these people. However, Stark and Taylor (1991) emphasize that this process of relative deprivation is not that simple. They show that it is important to realize that when migrating, there is a risk that households fail to decrease their relative deprivation due to a substitution of the reference group from the village community to the host community. If the host community becomes the relevant reference group for the migrant or the whole family, the relative deprivation of the household can even grow. For the host community to become the relevant reference group, it must have some minimal similarity with the migrant. This implies that in international migration relative deprivation reduction would be more important than in intra-national migration. This is because in intra-national migration, the risk of substitution of the reference group is larger and this can lead to income neutrality.

This model has several adaptations from the previous (neo-)classical model of Todaro. In this theory, income is still an important factor in the decision to migrate. However, also the importance of the household, of risks, of imperfect markets and the possibly of relative income are emphasized. These factors can all be relevant in the individual decision to migrate. Therefore, all these factors will be taken into account in this research. And although Stark and Taylor emphasize that relative income will probably be less important in rural-urban migration because of the possible change of the reference group, this study will still research this factor because it can be possible that people do not realize in advance that their reference group will change.

## *2.5 Theory of social capital*

The theory of social capital starts with nearly the same assumptions as the (neo-) classical model, namely that an individual or household makes a cost-benefit analysis before migration. But, the difference with the (neo-)classical model of migration is that the social capital theory puts emphasis on the importance of migration networks.



Bourdieu (1986) is the first who deeply goes into the concept of social capital. According to Bourdieu "social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or, in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a "credential" which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 21). The volume of social capital depends on the size of the network a person can mobilize and the volume of the capital of each member of the network. For a network to develop, investments, both on the individual as on the collective level, must be created to establish the social relationships. In this, exchanges reproduce the group. This social capital can be converted into other kinds of capital, such as economic capital.

According to Coleman (1988) the building of social capital can be seen as a rational action, because social capital is one of the resources available to a person. As Coleman emphasizes, social capital consists of some aspects of social structures and it facilitates certain actions of people or groups within that structure. He showed several functions of social capital. The first is that of obligations, expectations, and trustworthiness of structures: a group only can exist with a degree of trustworthiness so that it is sure obligations will be repaid. Social capital can also function as an information channel, providing cheap information. Thirdly, norms are a powerful form of social capital. Portes (1998) summarizes the functions in another way, namely as a source of social control, a source of family support and a source of benefits through extra familial networks. However, Portes also worked out some negative effects of social capital. The first is the possible exclusion of outsiders. A second negative consequence is an excess of claims on group members. Third, social networks can lead to restrictions on individual freedom, and finally there is the possibility of a downward leveling norm in which groups are cemented by an experience of adversity and opposition to mainstream society.

Coleman (1988) emphasizes that social capital can exist both in the family, in which physical presence as well as attention are important, as well as outside the family. Besides that, Coleman (1988) emphasizes that social capital can be seen as a kind of public good, in which the benefits or costs are not solely allocated to those who bring them about, but to all who are part of the network.

Massey and España (1987) applied this theory of social capital to migrants. According to Massey and España "a migrant network is a web of social ties that links potential migrants in sending communities to people and institutions in receiving areas" (Massey & España, 1987, p.733). In this theory, Massey and España (1987) emphasize that families make a costs-benefit analyses, in which expected costs of migration include transportation costs, opportunity costs and psychic costs, where the returns are primary higher wages. Here social networks come in. A large migrant network lowers the costs of migration. The transit costs can be reduced, for example by staying with a friend who has settled abroad. Opportunity costs can be reduced because jobs can quickly be arranged with the help of other migrants. And psychic costs can be reduced, because there are people with the same background. Besides that, networks also improve the probability term of getting a job. As a consequence, the net returns of migration increases.

As Massey and España (1987) emphasize, for the first person migration is a risky action with high costs. When that first migrant returns to the place of origin, the migrant has gained experience abroad. When that person repeats his migration, friends and relatives accompany the migrant. This set of new migrants increase the existing migrant network. This process can continue forever. At a sudden point, migration can become self-perpetuating by lowering the costs of migration, which again induces people to migrate, which expand the migrant network again, which reduces the costs for even more people, inducing them to migrate and so on. This implies that once the process of

migration begins, it tends to expand over time (Massey et al., 1993). This mechanism favours migration to places where social ties already exist (Spittel, 1998).

In this way, when migrant networks are well-developed, it becomes a reliable and secure source of income and with that a good strategy for risk diversification (Massey et al., 1993). This theory brings another interesting adaptation to the traditional (neo-) classical model, which will be taken into account in this study.

## *2.6 Evaluation*

Throughout the years, the purely economic (neo-)classical model adopted several sociological and psychological influences. Different theories emphasize different important aspects within the decision to migrate. The focus of most theories is on the individual or household level, only the theory of Lewis focuses upon macro-economic aspects.

This study focuses on the experiences of the migrants themselves. Therefore, in this study the focus will be on the micro-economic level, on the individual or the household. This means that most of the theories, except the theory of Lewis, are relevant for this study.

From the literature review, it can be concluded that the main reason for people to migrate is job opportunities and income. This implies that the theories focus on economic migration, which will be called labour migration. Within these theories of labour migration, several factors can be identified that are important in the migration process. The factors vary from being pure economic to more social factors:

- Expected income;
- The probability of getting a job (either on the short or the long term);
- Personal characteristics such as level of education, age, marital status and skills;
- Risk sharing;
- Household income maximization;
- Market failure in crop insurances market, futures market, unemployment insurance and capital market;
- Relative income in comparison with reference groups;
- Social networks.

However, the theories do not consider possible other reasons to migrate. Only the human capital theory takes into account nonmonetary costs and returns, for example, an urban life style and returns of social amenities. Byerlee (1974) and Zohry (2002) already considered several other possible reasons to migrate:

- Marriage or family reunion;
- Education;
- Urban facilities such as hospitals, places of entertainment, roads, electricity or piped water;
- Certain norms and values;
- The desire to break away from constraints in the social system.

This literature review about labour-migration theories demonstrates that theory about the reasons to migrate has been developed. About the evaluation of the decision to migrate less is known. Some research has been done to the change in well-being due to migration, for example by De Jong et al. (2002), Knight and Gunatilaka (2008; 2010), Hagen-Zanker and Azzarri (2009) and by Nielsen, Smyth and Zhai (2010). However, no research has been found in which an evaluation of the reasons to migrate is done by a migrant him- or herself, nor is the migrant asked for the reasons to remain living in the new place. Therefore, in the next chapter a new topic of research in the theme of migration will be introduced.

## Chapter 3 Theory of subjective well-being

The decision to migrate has a great impact on a person's life. It is very well possible to imagine the life of a migrant is changing when this person first lived with family in the rural area and then decides to leave to the city. After migration, this person lives without the family in a new place. If this person migrated in order to find a job or income and is successful in this, than one could expect this person to be happy since the goal is reached. However, is it really that simple? Is it true that because of an increased income the person becomes happier and has an increased well-being? Or do factors exist that might reduce the well-being?

These questions are all very important, because well-being is one of the most important aspects in life. Happiness often is considered to be the highest good and the ultimate motivation for humans (Diener, 2009). In this, economic performance can be seen to matter only in so far as it makes people happier (Oswald, 1997). Economic performance is just one aspect of the overall well-being of people. It is impossible to understand someone's well-being from an economic perspective alone (Rojas, 2007).

In order to better understand the well-being of a migrant, in this chapter the concept of well-being is discussed. Section 3.1 explains the concept of well-being. Section 3.2 describes the domains of life. In Section 3.3 the variables that influence the overall level of subjective well-being will be discussed. Following, in Section 3.4 some subjective well-being measures are shown. In Section 3.5 the link between well-being and rural-to-urban migration will be made. Finally, Section 3.6 will give an evaluation of this chapter and will demonstrate the use of subjective well-being in this study.

### *3.1 The concept of well-being*

Well-being is the scientific term of what lay people might call happiness or life satisfaction (Diener et al., 2003). In this, happiness often reflects the short-term situation-dependent expressions of mood, where life satisfaction is the long-term stable appreciation of life (Helliwell, 2003). So happiness is the more emotional component, while life satisfaction is the more cognitive component (Diener et al., 2003). Life satisfaction refers to a person's assessment of his life as a whole (Rojas, 2008). In this study, the focus is on migrants' perception of their life as a whole after migration. Therefore, the level of well-being will be measured using a method of life satisfaction.

### *3.2 Domains of life*

Life satisfaction can be split up into satisfaction with several domains of life (Van Praag et al., 2003). Van Praag et al. (2003) made a joint model of life satisfaction based on a data set from Germany, in which satisfaction with life in general is the aggregate of the satisfaction with the various domains of life. The domains developed by van Praag et al. (2003) are:

- Job satisfaction;
- Financial satisfaction;
- House satisfaction;
- Health satisfaction;
- Leisure satisfaction;
- Environment satisfaction.

Van Praag et al. (2003) demonstrated that there are three main determinants of life satisfaction, first finance, then health and then job satisfaction. Leisure is fourth in importance for life satisfaction and housing and environment seem to be less important. Van Praag et al. (2003) also emphasize the possibility that other determinants for life satisfaction exists, unfortunately they did not take these into account in their study.

Rojas (2007) developed slightly different domains of life based on a factor analysis in Mexico:

- Health satisfaction, about current health and the availability and quality of medical services;
- Economic satisfaction, about housing and living conditions, with income's purchasing power and financial solvency;
- Job satisfaction, about job's activity and responsibilities, working shift and hierarchy;
- Family satisfaction, about marriage, children and the rest of the family;
- Friendship satisfaction, about friends and the availability to spend time with them;
- Personal satisfaction, about time for hobbies, recreational activities, education level and personal growth;
- Community environment satisfaction, about community services and neighbours.

These domains of Rojas (2007) more or less correspond with the domains of van Praag et al. (2003), but include more social factors. Rojas (2007) evaluated the several domains, and concluded that the family domain is most fundamental for a person's satisfaction with life in general. After that, economic and personal domains are important. Next, health and job domains follow in importance. Only friendship and community domains are not so much related to general satisfaction.

In contrast with this study, the outcomes of the study of Lever (2000) shows that friendship is the most important domain of satisfaction, thereafter followed by family satisfaction. These different outcomes from different studies show that the important domains in a study might differ per study, per region or per period.

Rojas (2007) emphasizes that although the family domain is most important, life satisfaction can best be improved by improving the satisfaction with the domain with the lowest level of satisfaction, also when it is not the domain of main importance.

As no research exists in which the important domains of life are studied for Sub-Saharan African countries, the domains of life developed with data from other countries must be used. In this study, the domains of life of Rojas (2007) are used. The seven domains of life will be discussed in the interviews and analysed in the results of this study.

### *3.3 Variables influencing overall subjective well-being*

Some socioeconomic and demographic variables, such as education and income, can influence the overall well-being of a person. Diener (2009) made a review of several variables which have an influence on well-being. As this review contains several studies, some results are based on a longitudinal research, where others are based on cross-section research. These variables will each be shortly discussed here.

At first, Diener (2009) distinguishes the category of demographic variables. These are income, age, gender, race, employment, education, religion, marriage and family:

- Income: income has a positive relationship with well-being (Diener, 2009). As Diener (2009) emphasizes, this effect is largely relative: people who are wealthier than others tend to be happier. But income can also have a direct effect on well-being, mainly at extreme levels of poverty, because than an increase of income does increase well-being (Diener, 2009). However, Oswald (1997) demonstrated that the

effect of income on well-being does not exist only for the extreme low levels of income. Oswald showed an increase over any amount of income can increase well-being, but this rise is only very small. Rojas (2007) demonstrated that a higher amount of income is positively related with the satisfaction for the economic and job domains of life.

- Age: age can also influence the level of well-being, although Diener (2009) emphasizes that there is inconsistency in the findings on this topic. Some studies found that younger people were happier than older people, while other studies found no age effect at all or found a positive correlation (Diener, 2009). Helliwell and Putnam (2004) for example conducted a U-shape link between age and well-being. In their study the relation appears to be lowest in the middle of one's life. In a study of Braun (1977), younger respondents experience more intense positive and negative affect, while older people experience a higher level of overall happiness. This demonstrates the actual influence of age on well-being is still unsure. Rojas (2007) however, demonstrated that the satisfaction with the health, job and family domains of life declines with age.
- Gender: about gender some mixed results have been found. Diener (2009) concluded that the difference between sexes is only small, but overall women tend to report more and stronger negative as well as positive experiences in life. Rojas (2007) concluded that men are more satisfied than women on several domains of life, namely in the domains of health, job, family and personal life satisfaction.
- Race: in the U.S. blacks have lower well-being than whites (Diener, 2009). However, this does not imply that all black people tend to have a lower level of well-being.
- Employment: a very important variable is employment. Being unemployed leads to a very low well-being (Diener, 2009). Oswald (1997) shows that mental distress is twice as high among the unemployed as among those who have work, which not only is caused by a drop in income.
- Education: although Rojas (2007) found that education has a positive impact on almost all domains of life, the overall results are not so strong and clear. Education might have a positive effect on well-being, but it may also raise aspirations and alert people to alternative types of life; in this way it does not improve well-being (Diener, 2009).
- Religion: as Diener (2009) concludes, religious belief and participation tends to relate positively to well-being. Also religious faith, importance of religion and religious traditionalism relate positively with subjective well-being (Diener, 2009). But, Diener (2009) also emphasizes this is a factor that should be researched more deeply, because the exact interaction with subjective well-being is not clear yet.
- Family ties: marriage and family has a large positive effect on well-being (Diener, 2009). As Diener (2009) emphasizes, satisfaction with one's love life is a predictor of well-being, but also virtually all relationships are positive for well-being.

Next to this demographic category, Diener (2009) created a group of behavioural variables, that contains social contact, life events and activities:

- Social contact: in general, social contact can improve well-being, but research still brings mixed results about this interaction (Diener, 2009). Helliwell and Putnam (2004) showed that frequent interactions with friends and neighbours improve well-being. But they showed that also civic participation matters, as well as trust in others.
- Life events: life events have a modest relationship with well-being (Diener, 2009). Diener et al. (2003) emphasize that people rebound after major life events. The conclusion of Diener et al. (2003) is that over time well being can be seen as rather stable.
- Activity: the concept of activity is difficult to measure in relation with well-being, because it applies to a lot of things like social contacts, physical activities, hobbies

and participation in formal organizations (Diener, 2009). Involvement in certain types of activities will enhance subjective well-being, however, because of the diversity of the concept, the findings have been mixed (Diener, 2009).

The third category Diener (2009) distinguished is personality. Personality is also very important for well-being. Larsen, Diener and Emmons (1985) point out that high self-esteem leads to well-being, as well as extraversion and sensation seeking. Sociability co-varies with well-being and also neuroticism is important for well-being according to Larsen et al. (1985).

Diener (2009) distinguished biological influences on well-being as a fourth category. Many studies also show a relationship between self-rated health and well-being (Diener, 2009). Whether objective health is also related to subjective well-being is still unclear (Diener, 2009).

Finally, Diener et al. (2003) distinguished one more category, namely culture. Cultural factors can play a role in the level of subjective well-being. Whether a person lives in a collectivistic or an individualistic nation makes a difference on the level of subjective well-being.

This enumeration shows that well-being is influenced by a large amount of variables. Although all these variables can influence well-being, Diener et al. (2003) emphasize that the demographic factors, such as income, education, and marital status, only account for a small amount of variance. This study will not question whether all these factors are indeed important for well-being. However, it is important to realize these factors exist and can have an influence on well-being.

### *3.4 Subjective well-being measures*

Subjective well-being can be studied by directly asking a person about his or her life satisfaction (Rojas, 2007). The answer to this question can be seen as the subjective well-being of the person, which is the level of well-being as it is declared by the person itself (Rojas, 2007). Rojas (2007) emphasizes the advantages of this approach of subjective well-being, namely that it measures the well-being of a human being of flesh and blood and in his or her circumstances. Besides that, Rojas (2007) emphasizes that the only person who can judge about well-being, is the person itself. This means that well-being only can be measured subjectively. Well-being depends on the subject's own evaluation of his conditions (Rojas, 2007). As Shin and Johnson (1978) define, well-being can be viewed as "a global assessment of a person's quality of life according to his own chosen criteria" (Shin & Johnson, 1978, p. 478). Since the focus of this study is on the effects of migration on peoples' own experienced well-being, this method of subjective well-being will also be used in this research.

Subjective well-being can be measured by using a single-item measure or by using a multi-item scale (Diener, 2009). An example of a single-item scale is the question "In general, how happy or unhappy do you usually feel?" from Fordyce (1978) which can be answered using an eleven-point scale. An example of a multi-item scale is the "Satisfaction With Life Scale" of Diener et al. (1985), in which five propositions must be answered by the respondents on a seven-point scale. The first proposition asked to the respondents is "In most ways my life is close to my ideal". This proposition is followed by four other propositions. Finally, the life satisfaction measured with the Satisfaction With Life Scale is the sum of the answers that the respondents gave on those five propositions.

According to Diener (2009) a multi-item scale can be used to measure specific domains of life, while the single-item measure is not able to assess the several domains of well-being. The advantage of the single-item scale is that it is less costly and less

time-consuming than a multiple-item scale (Diener, 2009). The single-item scale is often used to measure the emotional components of well-being, so happiness, while the multiple-item scales are more used for the cognitive components of well-being, so life satisfaction (Diener et al., 2003). In this study, the focus is upon life satisfaction. Therefore, a multiple-item scale is more useful.

The difficulty with measuring well-being however is that the answer to a life satisfaction question as well as to a happiness question, is influenced by the respondents' current mood and memory, the immediate context and the questions asked before (Kahneman & Krueger, 2006). But although these shortcomings exist, the methods are still very useful. With representative population samples, these effects will be averaged out. Also, current satisfaction can be important for relevant future decisions (Kahneman & Krueger, 2006).

However, this actually shows that well-being measures are mostly quantitative research methods. Qualitative research is lacking behind. In this study, a qualitative study will be done. The respondents are given the freedom to go into detail in their life satisfaction and to describe why they are satisfied or dissatisfied with life in general. They are first asked, "how satisfied are you with your life?". After that, the satisfaction with the specific domains of life will be asked. The participants are free in answering the questions as they want, no fixed scale is offered.

It is important to realize these tests have a Western viewpoint. As Dimoso (2009) emphasizes, in Tanzania this is called "western" literature. However, there is no literature developed in this regions which focus on subjective well-being, except for that of Dimoso (2009).

Dimoso (2009) redefined employment as occupation with several work variables, namely informal employment, which implies being a farmer, or formal employment which means to work in an office. Income, which refers to earned income from wage employment, is redefined as the sum of net earnings from selling agricultural products and labour, as well as exogenous income like grants and presents. However, these adaptations of Dimoso (2009) are mainly important for his calculation of the level of welfare and to a lesser extent for the well-being component.

The conclusion of Dimoso (2009) is that subjective well-being is also relevant in a developing country such as Tanzania. Therefore, the western theory of well-being will be used in this research.

### *3.5 Subjective well-being and rural-to-urban migration*

The importance of subjective well-being for any person is already been outlined before. However, the relation between migration and subjective well-being in particular is interesting because migration can have a large impact on a peoples' well-being. Migration changes all aspects of peoples' life (Christopher & Kulig, 2000). However, the consequences of migration to subjective well-being are a relatively new area of migration research (De Jong et al., 2002). Research on these effects are still limited (Christopher & Kulig, 2000). The consequences of migration for subjective well-being of the migrants is still largely neglected in research (De Jong et al., 2002).

A few studies exist focussing on the link between migration and subjective well-being, but almost all of these studies focus on Asia, except for that of Hagen-Zanker and Azzarri (2009) which focuses upon Albania and a study of Beegle, de Weerd and Dercon (2008) which focuses on Tanzania. This last study does not focus upon well-being, but does evaluate the extent to which migration contributed to improved living standards. No case studies have been done in Sub-Saharan Africa about the relation

between subjective well-being and rural-urban migration. Therefore this study, with the focus on Morogoro, can give new insights on this topic.

### *3.6 Evaluation*

Throughout the years, much large scale, quantitative research on subjective well-being has been executed. However, as mentioned in Section 3.5, not much research on the link of migration and subjective well-being exists. This can be seen as a deficiency, because migration is changing ones whole life. Therefore, it is interesting to study the change in life satisfaction due to migration. This research can be seen as an exploration in this field.

This research will focus on life satisfaction. This research will use the specific domains of life outlined by Rojas (2007), to understand the changes in life satisfaction more deeply. Thus, the focus will be on:

- Health satisfaction;
- Economic satisfaction;
- Job satisfaction;
- Family satisfaction;
- Friendship satisfaction;
- Personal satisfaction;
- Community environment satisfaction.

It will be interesting to see whether these Western domains of life are also important for the satisfaction of migrants in Sub-Saharan Africa.



## Chapter 4 Methodology

In this chapter, the methodology of the research will be explained. For a better understanding of the situation that the migrant is living in, first more background information about the rural and the urban area will be given. In Section 4.1 the difference between the rural area and the urban area will be made. In Section 4.2 more background information about the rural area and, in Section 4.3, about Morogoro town will be given. After this, in Section 4.4, the interview questions and the execution of the research will be explained. In Section 4.5 an overview of the background variables of the respondents is given. In Section 4.6 the analysis used in this study will be explained. Finally, in Section 4.7, an evaluation of this chapter will be given.

### *4.1 Rural versus urban*

As mentioned before, the focus of this study is on people who migrate from the rural area to Morogoro town. But what is rural and what is urban? That will be discussed in more detail in this section.

Tanzania is one of the biggest countries of Africa, with more than 880,000 square kilometre of land (National Bureau of Statistics, 2009). It contains coastal lowland, the Great Rift Valley and mountains, including the Kilimanjaro, and it has a large amount of wildlife national parks and protected areas. In 2002, the total number of inhabitants of Tanzania was almost 34,500,000 people and the average population density for Tanzania was 38 people per square kilometre (National Bureau of Statistics, 2009). This demonstrates that Tanzania has a large amount of rural area.

But what exactly is the rural area? As Hart et al. describes it: "there is no perfect rural definition that meets all purposes" (Hart et al., 2005, p. 1154). Therefore, it is difficult to determine what is meant by rural. Rural can be seen as a geographical concept, a location, or as a social representation, a community, or a culture (Du Plessis et al., 2002). Common used criteria are to distinguish rural from urban on the basis of a population density of more or less than a certain number of people per square kilometre or a local settlement below a certain number of inhabitants (Du Plessis et al., 2002). To be more specific, for example according to the OECD, the organisation for economic co-operation and development, a community is rural when the population density is less than 150 people per square kilometre (OECD, 1994). However, they also distinguish several regions: predominantly rural regions where more than 50 percent of the population lives in a rural community, intermediate regions where between 15 percent and 50 percent of the population lives in a rural community, and predominantly urban regions where less than 15 percent of the population lives in a rural community (OECD, 1994). This is just one way of measuring, different ways of measuring rural imply a different percentage of rural areas. Therefore, it is difficult to be exact in the amount of rural area.

For this study however, it is not necessary to know the exact amount of rural versus urban area. Most important is that the migrants are moving from the rural area to the urban area. In this, the migrants themselves determine whether the place of origin is indeed a rural area. Also, nevertheless of which definition of rural is used, it can be said that Tanzania contains a lot of rural area. According to the National Bureau of Statistics about 77 percent of the inhabitants of Tanzania live in the rural area (National Bureau of Statistics, 2009).

## 4.2 The rural area

In Tanzania, more than 80 percent of the people living in the rural area is a farmer, herdsman or fisherman (Morogoro Municipal Council, 2010). The majority of the farmers are subsistence farmers who have about one to five acre of land. However, also some cash crops are produced for the market. These cash crops contain tobacco, cotton, coffee, sisal and other crops (Morogoro Municipal Council, 2010).

Other jobs are scarce in the rural area. Next to farming, herding cattle or fishing, there are some other possible occupations in the rural area. For example, being a teacher, selling commodities or food, or making baskets.

Many children do go to school, as the government obligates primary school. Often the schools in the rural area are government-funded schools. However, not all children are going to school, as in the rural area there is no control whether the children go to school. Also, the children sometimes have to help their parents with farming and therefore do not go to school.

Many people in the rural area are living together with their family. The houses are basic, the majority lives in houses with walls made from wood and mud, and a roof made from leaves (see Figure 1). Some people live in houses from red stone (see Figure 2).



**Figure 1**  
**A house in the rural area made from wood, mud and leaves**



**Figure 2**  
**A house in the rural area made from red stone**

While in some rural areas there is water and electricity services, in many rural places no electricity and piped water is available. Then, people use water from the pump or the river.

The majority of the people living in the rural area is very poor. During the dry season, many people just have one meal a day, as they have nothing more to harvest and mostly do not have food stock. In the wet season, there is enough to eat, as it is harvesting time. However, the living standard vary per region, as some regions are more fertile than others. Morogoro region is one of the fertile regions. Because of the Uluguru mountains (see Figure 3), it has a microclimate with two rain-seasons, the big one around March to May and the small one between October to December. Because of this fruitful climate, Morogoro region is one of the food baskets of Tanzania, together with regions as Arusha, Mbeya and Iringa, which have a colder climate.



**Figure 3 The Uluguru Mountains**

Schools and churches are available in the rural area and once a week there is a market in the villages. But next to these services there are not many other facilities available. Also, the roads often are bad and public transport can be a problem.

#### ***4.3 Morogoro city***

Morogoro is located about 195 km west of Dar es Salaam (see the marked circle in Figure 4). It is the capital city of the Morogoro region. Morogoro is one of the oldest



towns of Tanzania, from the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Morogoro Municipal Council, 2009). It is surrounded by the Uluguru Mountains and there are three main rivers crossing Morogoro.



Figure 4 Map of Tanzania (Map of Tanzania, 08-09-2010)

The total population of Morogoro town in 2010 is almost 305,000 people (Morogoro Municipal Council, 2010). However, there is always uncertainty about the exact population size in a town like Morogoro, as Tanzanians do not have to register when they move to another town within Tanzania. As mentioned before, the average annual population growth rate is 4.7 percent (National Bureau of Statistics, 2002).

In 2002, from the total number of inhabitants living in Morogoro, 9.6 percent are migrants, compared with only 3.7 percent in 1967 (Morogoro Municipal Council, 2009). Assuming that the percentage of migrants living in Morogoro did not change much in comparison with 2002, this means that in 2010 about 30,000 inhabitants of Morogoro are migrants. However, this number of migrants might not be the exact number of migrants living in Morogoro because not everyone does register at the municipality.

Morogoro has good public transport facilities. The city is located on the crossroads of two major highways, namely the highway from Dar es Salaam to Dodoma and from Dar es Salaam to Mbeya (Morogoro Municipal Council, 2009). Busses go to almost everywhere in Tanzania. Busses to main destinations as Mikumi, Iringa, Arusha, Dodoma and Tanga pass by daily, sometimes several times a day and to Dar es Salaam busses leave even every half an hour. Morogoro also has a Central Railway Station (Figure 5 on the next page), where trains pass by regularly, but these mainly are goods trains. In town, there is a big Daladala station (Figure 6). Morogoro has a small airstrip, used for charter planes, so there is no public air service available (Morogoro Municipal

Council, 2009). The Daladala is the local way of transport. These are old minibuses going everywhere in town and its surroundings; they are a cheap way of transport. Everywhere in town, taxis and motorcycle-taxis can be found. Lastly, many people use a bike for transport. The bikes can also be hired for one day in many places in town.



**Figure 5 Central railway station**



**Figure 6 Daladala station**

Morogoro has 42 dispensaries, 12 health centres and 3 hospitals (Morogoro Municipal Council, 2009). Morogoro has many churches for many different beliefs. In Morogoro there are 55 nursery schools, 72 primary schools, 34 secondary schools, 3 vocational centres, 2 specialized training centres, 3 universities and 5 special education-centres for disabled children (Morogoro Municipal Council, 2009). Morogoro has a fitness room, a squash course, a tennis course, a golf course and 3 swimming pools available. The golf course and swimming pools are mainly used by the white inhabitants and visitors of the town. Morogoro has many restaurants, some bars and two nightclubs. It also has a big daily market (see Figure 7 on the next page). In this market, everything is sold: food, clothes, shoes, materials. On the Sunday, there is a big second hand market, where they mainly sell second hand clothes, shoes and bags.

Morogoro town is extensively spread which makes it possible to have broad roads. The main roads are paved. Side roads and smaller roads are all from red sand and contain many holes.

Most houses in Morogoro are made of stone, although some are still made of mud and leaves. According to the municipality, almost all houses, 94 percent, are privately owned (Morogoro Municipal Council, 2009). However, many house-owners own several houses and are renting out some of their houses to one or more other families. Therefore, many people rent a room from a private renter. Often, these are big houses where people live together with more families. They share the cooking place and bathroom. The cooking places are mostly basic, with just one or two charcoal cookers (see Figure 8). The rooms are often small, so mostly they cannot contain more than a bed, a bank and a closet. Some people also rent a whole house.





**Figure 7 The market of Morogoro**



**Figure 8 A basic cooking place**

The problem with renting a house is that at any time the property owner can decide to stop renting out the rooms to the tenants. When one owns a house, one does not have these harassments from property owners or fellow occupants. When people own a house, it often took a long time to build it. First, they buy the land. The start of the building of the house often takes a while, because they first need to get money again. Every time when they have some money, they continue building the house. This process can take up to ten years before the house is ready. People often prefer to own a house rather than to rent one.

There are many different kinds of jobs available in Morogoro, for example working in a shop, as a taxi driver, as a tailor, in a hotel or restaurant or as a guard. Most people who do these jobs are employed. To start a business like a shop can be difficult, because much permission from the municipality is needed and some starting capital or any other guarantee is required. The way to become a taxi driver is different from starting a business. A taxi driver often rents the car from someone else for a certain amount of money every month. What the taxi driver earns more than the amount of the rent is the income of the taxi driver.

In addition to these jobs, there are some industries located in Morogoro where one can get work, for example a tobacco processing company and a soap industry. Some people work for the government in the municipality. Next to this, at the periphery of the town also some subsistence and commercial farming are common.

For an even better picture of Morogoro, it is interesting to make a comparison between Morogoro and the biggest city of Tanzania, Dar es Salaam. Morogoro is a town, whereas Dar es Salaam is a big city. This can be understood by comparing the population size of both cities. Dar es Salaam has a population of about 3,000,000 people, whereas Morogoro has a population of almost 305,000 people. This means Dar es Salaam is about ten times bigger than Morogoro. In Dar es Salaam there are many big buildings and flats to house the inhabitants, in Morogoro these are scarcer.

Often a big city as Dar es Salaam is attractive to people. Many social services are available and anything someone wants to do is possible in such a big city. However, living in Dar es Salaam can also be very difficult. Dar es Salaam is very expensive. Although any product is available in this town, all products are more expensive. In Dar es Salaam, the prices for food, even from the market, can be twice as high as in smaller towns like Morogoro. Also finding a job in Dar es Salaam is very difficult if one does not have contacts in the city yet. Next to that, another problem in Dar es Salaam is traffic jams, which continue the whole day. In Morogoro, the traffic jams are less common, although it is getting busier in Morogoro as well. Another problem of Dar es Salaam is the amount of crime. Dar es Salaam has some dangerous neighbourhoods, also because some neighbourhoods are slums where people are living with very little money. In Morogoro less crime occurs.

This comparison shows that although Morogoro is smaller than Dar es Salaam, it still has some characteristics that can attract people to this town.

#### *4.4 The interview*

After this explanation of the living situation of people in the rural as well as in the urban area, more attention will be paid now to the practical part of the research. Therefore, in this section the interview that is executed will be explained.

For this study a small-scale qualitative study of twenty-five open-ended interviews has been done. This approach has been chosen, because it gives the migrants freedom to mention their own reasons, which might not be taken into account in the large-scale surveys. Qualitative research makes it possible to explore the reasons of migration in

more detail and to check whether there are more reasons than the ones mentioned in Chapter 2. Before these interviews were executed, an interview guide has been developed, see Appendix 1. This interview guide contains seven parts, which will now be discussed in more detail. In Appendix 3, the interviews that were executed with the twenty-five respondents are showed.

In the first part of the interview, background information about the respondent is asked. These questions are focussing on the different places where the respondent lived and on its work experience. In the last part of the interview, part 7, more demographic information about the respondent is asked. In this part, information that is more general is asked, about age, years of education and working experience and about marital status and children. This construction is chosen because a respondent can loose his interest if at the start of the interview too many easy answering questions are asked. But at the same time, if the interview immediately starts with the most important questions, a respondent might not be ready yet to answer these questions. Some questions, which are relatively easy to answer, are placed at the start of the interview to make the respondent feel comfortable. Specifically the questions about the kind of job and the places where they lived are asked, because these can serve as an introduction and as a retrieval method for the next part of the interview.

The second part of the interview asks about reasons to migrate to Morogoro. It is directly asked why the respondent decided to migrate to Morogoro. This construction is chosen, because when a person makes such a big decision as deciding to migrate, the person normally thinks deeply about the pros and cons of this decision. Therefore, it can be assumed this person still knows the most important reasons to migrate. However, to make the respondent remembering his or her decision to migrate more accurately, a top-down retrieval method is used. This method can be used for asking about single specific episodes (Belli, 1998). The top-down retrieval method implies that lifetime periods are recalled in memory because they are the key to various types of memories concerning significant events (Belli, 1998). In this interview, these lifetime periods are recalled by questioning in part one of the interview in what places he or she has lived and when he or she lived there. In addition, the respondent is first asked to report their work history. These situations can be seen as index memories to the specific event like the decision to migrate and will make it more easy to remember the situation again (Belli, 1998). By using this strategy, the reasons to migrate can be remembered. However, the risk of this approach is that over time the reasons to migrate can be adapted without the person is realizing this.

The third part focuses on the evaluation of the decision to migrate to Morogoro. Here the respondent is asked to evaluate his or her decision to migrate. This question is kept quite broad to give the respondent space to mention his or her most important feelings and thoughts. Later on, in part six, more specific questions are asked about how the decision to migrate improves the life of the respondent.

In the fourth part of the interview, more attention is paid to the determinants of labour migration, as determined in the theoretical part of this study. In Section 2.6 the determinants of labour migration were mentioned. For each determinant one question, and sometimes more questions, are developed to check whether these determinants were important for this respondent. These questions are less open than the questions before. This is because it is already demonstrated these are important elements in a decision to migrate, what will be tested in these interviews. However, there is still space for the respondent to add whatever he or she wants to add.

The fifth part of the interview is focussing on the current situation of the migrant, especially whether the respondent sometimes visits his or her place of origin and in which place he or she wants to live in future. These questions are aimed to discover



whether the respondent is satisfied with his or her life in Morogoro and whether the respondent wants to stay in Morogoro forever.

The sixth part of the interview is focussing on the changes in well-being due to the decision to migrate to Morogoro. First of all, the level of satisfaction with life in general is asked and it is asked whether this level of satisfaction has been changed due to the decision to migrate to Morogoro. Of course, these answers are about subjective well-being, so when the migrant says his or her level of satisfaction of life improved due to migration, for this respondent it is the truth. However, it is possible that actually his or her situation did not improve so much, but this person still experiences a higher level of subjective well-being. Because this well-being is a personal experience, the answer of the respondent cannot be wrong. However, although well-being is subjective and cannot be wrong, there is a risk that respondents give socially desirable answers and are not telling the total truth. It is tried to avoid this as much as possible by making the respondents feeling comfortable and also by showing there are no wrong answers and no one will judge them. Although it is difficult to measure, this problem is kept as low as possible, as many respondents also gave less socially desirable answers, for example that they are not so satisfied with their life in general.

After the questions of overall well-being, the focus is on the satisfaction with several domains of life, namely health, housing situation, economic situation, job, family contact, friendship, personal satisfaction, which is worked out in leisure activities and leisure time, and community satisfaction. For all these domains, two questions are developed, namely: *'did your ... change due to your decision to migrate? If yes, how?'* and secondly *'how satisfied are you with your ... nowadays compared to before you moved?'*.

Finally, as already outlined before, in part seven some more background information of the respondent is collected.

The interview is executed with the use of a translator who translated the questions from English to Kiswahili. One interview took half an hour up to one hour. The respondents decided to participate with the research out of free will.

The sampling of respondents occurred in the following way: the interviewer and the translator walked around in town and asked to people they met whether that person came from the rural area. If the person indeed came from the rural area, it was asked at what age this person migrated to Morogoro and how long this person was already living in Morogoro. If the person did fit to the characteristics of a migrant according to the definition of a migrant in this study, it is asked whether this person would like to participate in the research. About half of the latter wanted to participate in this research. It is tried to interview people from different places in town, therefore on different days the interviewer and translator went to different locations in town.

All interviews were executed during daytime. However, this is a limitation of the research, because some people do not have a half hour break to participate with this research. For example, some rural-to-urban migrants became a taxi driver in Morogoro. However, as soon as they get a client, they have to stop the interview. Therefore, there is an under representation of taxi drivers in this research. At the same time, people who are working in a shop are always waiting for their customers and have plenty of time when they do not have any customers. Therefore there is an overrepresentation of people who are working in a shop or at the market. Although this might bias the sample, it will not influence the results so much as for many people working on the market or being a taxi driver is not such a difference as one just tries to get any job.

The interviewing of people continued until no new information came up in the interviews. After about fifteen to twenty interviews, the stories of the migrants became a repetition of stories of other migrants. To be sure no new information would come up,

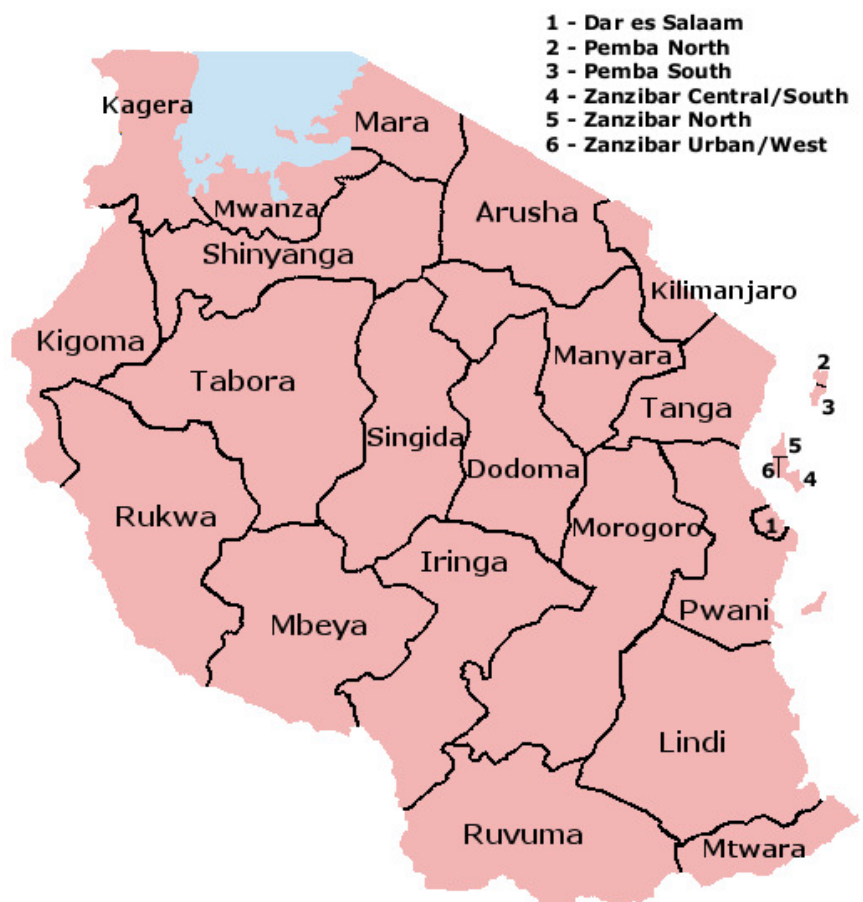
some more interviews have been executed. After twenty-five interviews, it was decided to stop interviewing, as the stories became a repetition of other stories.

#### 4.5 Background of the respondents

As mentioned before, for this study twenty-five interviews have been executed. The image drawn by the municipality that migrants come from different areas in Tanzania and also from outside Tanzania (Morogoro Municipal Council, 2010), is also demonstrated in this research. In Table 1, it is outlined where the respondents of this study originally come from. In Figure 7, a map of Tanzania with the different regions is shown.

**Table 1 Regions of Tanzania**

	# OF RESPONDENTS
Morogoro	7
Kilimanjaro	5
Iringa	4
Dodoma	2
Tanga	2
Lindi	1
Mbeya	1
Pwani	1
Shinyanga	1
Mara	1



**Figure 9 Districts of Tanzania (The Districts of Tanzania, 01-06-2011)**

In total, Tanzania has 26 regions, from which 21 regions on the mainland and 5 regions are parts of the islands. In this research, the twenty-five respondents are coming from 10 different regions. The highest number of respondents comes originally from the Morogoro region. This means that they have chosen to migrate to the city close to the place of origin. Next to that, also several respondents come from neighbouring regions of Morogoro region, namely from Iringa, Dodoma, Tanga, Pwani and Lindi. However, it is interesting to see also many people originally come from Kilimanjaro region. The Kilimanjaro region is far away from Morogoro. Still, five respondents are coming originally from this region. No respondents came from outside Tanzania.

In total, ten women and fifteen men are interviewed. The respondents are currently of the age between 18 and 70 years old. When they migrated, most of them were between 15 and 29 years old, with one outlier of 42 years old. The time that the

respondents are now living in Morogoro vary greatly, from living in Morogoro since six months up to forty years.

As shown in Table 2, most people directly came to Morogoro after leaving the place of origin. However, also several respondents first lived in one or more other cities. Because some respondents lived in more than one other city, the amount of respondents who lived in the cities mentioned in Table 2 is larger than ten. Especially a large amount of people first lived in Dar es Salaam before moving to Morogoro. Most of these respondents moved away from Dar es Salaam to Morogoro because, as they say, life is too expensive and life is hard in Dar es Salaam.

**Table 2 Residence before coming to Morogoro**

	# OF RESPONDENTS
Directly from home village	14
After living in one or more other cities	10
- Dar es Salaam	- 6
- Mwanza	- 2
- Arusha	- 2
- Dodoma	- 2
- Moshi	- 1
- Tanga	- 1
After living in another village	1

As shown in Table 3, 17 respondents left the place of origin directly after finishing their study. Most of those people came directly to Morogoro. Remarkably, from the respondents who were already working in the place of origin, several lived in other places before they came to Morogoro.

**Table 3 Activity in the last residence before coming to Morogoro**

	ACTIVITY AT THE LAST RESIDENCE BEFORE MOROGORO	# OF RESPONDENTS
Directly	Study	11
Directly	Work	3
After living in another place	Study	6
After living in another place	Work	5

From Table 4 it can be seen that about half of the respondents are single, while the other half is married. Most people who are single do not have children, while most married respondents do have children.

**Table 4 Marital status and children**

	CHILDREN	# OF RESPONDENTS
Single	Without children	10
Single	With children	3
Married	Without children	1
Married	With children	11

The years of work experience differ much. The range of the years of work experience goes from a couple of months towards about thirty years. The amount of years the different respondents took education is shown in Table 5. The majority just took primary education, which is seven years. Some respondents also took secondary

education, which is another four years. Only one person just took one year of education, while one person stopped with primary school after five years. One person took 19 years of education.

**Table 5 Years of education**

	# OF RESPONDENTS
1 year	1
5 years	1
7 years	14
9 years	3
11 years	5
19 years	1

As shown in Table 6, almost everyone who is interviewed has a job. One person is retired and there are two housewives. Besides those three respondents, all respondents have a job. Also in general not many people are unemployed in Tanzania, as they do not get any money from the government, so their family needs to support them if they have no job. Very often this is a burden for the family. Therefore most people look for any job to be able to take care for themselves.

Half of the respondents who do work are self-employed, where the other half of the working people are an employee. As shown in Table 6, there is a slight overrepresentation of people working in a shop, as in total twelve respondents of the twenty-five work in a shop and another two respondents are vendors on the street. Remarkably, not one of the respondents is working for the government.

**Table 6 Kind of job**

	# OF RESPONDENTS
Shop owner, self-employed	6
Shop assistant, employee	6
Vendor on the street, self-employed	2
Tailor, employee	2
Tailor, self-employed	1
Taxi driver, self-employed	1
Cultural activities, employee	1
Construction, self-employed	1
Truck driver, employee	1
Lab assistant, employee	1
Retired	1
Housewife	2

#### *4.6 Analysis used in this study*

For the analysis of the results of this research, groups are made based on the respondents' named reasons for the decision to migrate to Morogoro. These groups are based on the main reason of the migration decision that the respondents named in the interviews. Next to that, the influences of several personal characteristics are studied. This is done by making subgroups based on several personal characteristics within the main-groups based on the reasons to migrate. Some characteristics might be important, while others are not, but all these variables will be studied.

These personal characteristics are:

- Current age;
- Time living in Morogoro;
- Gender;
- Years of education;
- Years of working experience.

Then, comparisons have been made for the groups based on the reasons to migrate, on the topics of the interviews. The same is done for the several subgroups based on personal characteristics. This means, a comparison is made based on:

- The determinants of labour migration;
- The evaluation of the decision to migrate;
- The satisfaction with life in general and with the specific domains of life;
- The reasons to remain in Morogoro or to consider returning to the place of origin.

To make these comparisons, first all respondents from one group are put together. Then, the answers from these respondents are divided into a set of categories that are comparable. These categories can be, for example, satisfied – a bit satisfied – dissatisfied. The different sets of categories are made in a way such that it is close to the original answers of the respondents. After dividing the answers of all the groups of respondents into the sets of categories, the answers of the groups can be compared. These comparisons are put into tables and are demonstrated in the next chapter. Sometimes a respondent did not answer a question. In that case, a column of unknown is added to the table. Based on the analyses, conclusions are made.

## *4.7 Evaluation*

This chapter explained the background of the fieldwork. As explained, still many people are living in the rural area in Tanzania. In these rural areas, life can be difficult. Many people living in the rural area are poor. There are not so many other jobs available despite being a farmer. Facilities are also lacking behind. The houses are often very basic, sometimes even without piped water and electricity. Therefore, several people might decide to migrate to other places, like Morogoro.

Morogoro is the capital city of the Morogoro region. About 305,000 people are living there, from which about ten percent is a migrant. Morogoro has good public facilities and it is located on the crossroads of two major highways. Many people living in Morogoro, just like in any other city in Tanzania, rent a house or a room. There are many different kinds of jobs available. This makes a city like Morogoro attractive for many people living at the rural area.

To get a clearer view of the situation of the migrants who moved from the rural area to a city as Morogoro, twenty-five interviews have been done for this study. This interview contained open-ended questions, so that the topic of migration could be explored more. After twenty-five interviews, no new information came up any more and therefore no more interviews have been done. Several topics have been treated in the interview, varying from personal characteristics, the reasons to migrate, the evaluation of the decision to migrate, the satisfaction with the current life and the desire and possibility of returning to the place of origin. The respondents are selected by asking people on the street whether they migrated from the rural area to Morogoro, at what age they migrated and how long they already live in Morogoro. If the person was a rural-to-urban migrant who came to Morogoro at the age of sixteen or older and who lives in Morogoro for at least half a year, then they are asked if they wanted to participate in the research by getting interviewed.

Some of the respondents came from close, others from far away. About half of the respondents are male, while the other half is female. The current age varies from 18 to 70 years old. Several respondents came directly after they finished their study, while others first lived in other places or did work before. About half of the respondents are single, while the other half is married. Most respondents followed primary education. Almost all respondents have a job in Morogoro.

The respondents are put into different groups based on the reasons they named for their migration decision. With these groups, and some subgroups based on several personal characteristics, comparisons have been made on the topics of the interview. These comparisons will be shown in the next chapter.

## Chapter 5 Results

In this chapter, the results of this study will be given. In Section 5.1, it will be analysed what the reasons to migrate are. From this diverse set of reasons, three groups of rural-urban migrants are defined, which will be used for further analysis to answer the other research questions. Section 5.2 outlines the importance of the different determinants of labour migration. In Section 5.3, the evaluation of the decision to migrate will be discussed. Section 5.4 shows how satisfied the respondents are with their life in general and with the specific domains of life. In Section 5.5, the reasons why the respondents remain living in Morogoro will be discussed, but also the reasons to consider returning to the place of origin will be outlined. In Section 5.6, the differences between the three groups of rural-urban migrants will be analysed, as well as the influence of several personal characteristics. Finally, Section 5.7 will give an evaluation of this chapter.

One remark about the tables in this chapter needs to be made. In some tables a column of unknown is added, as sometimes a respondent did not answer a question.

### 5.1 Reasons to migrate

In this study, a lot has been written about the reasons to migrate. But what are the reasons according to the migrants themselves? One of the first questions in the interviews with twenty-five migrants in Morogoro is: *“why did you decide to migrate from your place of origin to Morogoro? Please name all reasons you remember”*. The outcome of this question is put in Table 7.

**Table 7 Reasons to migrate**

	# OF RESPONDENTS
Economic	17
Family	7
Study	1

Table 7 demonstrates that many of the respondents had economic reasons that made them decide to migrate. This corresponds with the literature about rural-to-urban migration, as the main reason for rural-urban migration discussed in literature is economic. However, this is not the only reason mentioned by the respondents. Another important reason to migrate mentioned by the respondents is family circumstances. Finally, one respondent migrated specifically for further studying in town.

Following, Section 5.1.1 will go into more detail in the economic reasons to migrate. Section 5.1.2 outlines the family reasons to migrate. Finally, in Section 5.1.3 the migration for further studying in Morogoro will be discussed.

#### 5.1.1 Economic reasons to migrate

After giving an overview of the reasons to migrate, it is worthwhile to have a closer look at each of those reasons. As for the first reason to migrate, namely migration due to economic circumstances, there is diversity on the exact reasons that respondents named. This is because one respondent can name more than one reason to migrate. The diversity of economic reasons to migrate mentioned by respondents is shown in Table 8.

**Table 8 Economic reasons to migrate**

	# OF RESPONDENTS
Looking for a better life	15
Life in origin is hard	11
Need more income	9
To find a job	7
Morogoro is a nice place	4
Life in other towns is hard	4
Looking for a better environment	2
Desire of an independent life	1
To get new ideas	1
To help the family	1
To live close to home	1
Saw others doing it	1
Can do the job only in town	1

Table 8 demonstrates that most respondents who decided to migrate due to economic circumstances are looking for a better life (15 out of 17). Also a large proportion of the respondents came because life in the place of origin is hard (11 out of 17), because they need more income to fulfil their basic needs (9 out of 17) and they hope to find a job (7 out of 17).

As mentioned before, one respondent could mention more than one reason to migrate. However, for fifteen respondents the main reason to migrate was to look for a better life and for two respondents to find a job. Therefore, this better life is very important for most respondents. But what is a better life? No one could precisely explain what a better life is. The other reasons mentioned in Table 8 can give an idea about a better life. For several respondents, being able to find a job and activities to get more income are important for getting a better life. However, one respondent found out getting a better life does not only depend on having income. She discovered a better life is more than that, as she says: "my income is increased, but life is not getting better" (respondent 1). For one respondent a better life is being able to help her family. For another respondent the nature of the job was an important part of getting a better life, as she could not do that job in the rural area.

While Morogoro offered the hope to improve their life, the negative component of the life in the rural area or in the place where they lived before was also important. Eleven respondents also mentioned to migrate because life was hard in the place of origin. Another four experienced that life was difficult also in other towns, as they could not get enough money and life was expensive. Therefore, they decided to migrate to Morogoro.

### 5.1.2 Family circumstances

Next to this first group of respondents who migrated for economic reasons, there is a second group of respondents who migrated due to family circumstances. In this group, a diverse set of reasons to migrate is named, all based on family issues. Table 9 shows the set of reasons to migrate for family circumstances.

As becomes clear in Table 9, the reasons to migrate related to the family are diverse. While the first group of respondents, who came for economic reasons, came mainly to find a better life, in this group the main reason to migrate is more diverse. While two women followed their husband to Morogoro, one other woman came to Morogoro to get married with her husband. Next to that, two respondents came to Morogoro to take



care of an ill family member. One respondent came to Morogoro after travelling around a lot and finally decided to settle in a town close to the family. The last person migrated to Morogoro to move away from his family, so that he had to take care of his own life.

**Table 9 Family reasons to migrate**

	# OF RESPONDENTS
Followed husband	2
Take care of ill family member	2
Life in origin is hard	2
Closer to family	1
To get married	1
Looking for a better life	1
Want to be independent	1

Interestingly, even in this group of respondents who migrated for family circumstances, two other, more economic, reasons are named. These are looking for a better life and to migrate because the life in the place of origin is hard. However, these reasons were not the most important in the decision to come to Morogoro for these respondents.

### 5.1.3 Study

Next to these two groups of respondents, there is one respondent left. One person migrated to town because of her study. This respondent does not fit in both of the previous two groups, as she came to develop herself more, not for economic or family reasons. Therefore, she is treated apart from the other two groups.

In Appendix 2, a description can be found about all respondents, categorized in the three different groups.

## *5.2 Determinants of labour migration*

In Chapter 2, different determinants within the idea of labour migration are treated. These determinants, that can be important in the decision to migrate, are:

- Expected income;
- The probability of getting a job (either on the short or the long term);
- Personal characteristics such as level of education, age, marital status and skills;
- Risk sharing;
- Household income maximization;
- Market failure in crop insurances markets, future markets, unemployment insurance and capital markets;
- Relative income in comparison with reference groups;
- And social networks.

In part 4 of the interview, more attention is paid to these determinants of labour migration. Based on the determinants of labour migration, several questions are developed for this study to test whether these determinants were also important for the respondents in this research. The outcomes of these questions are shown in Table 10.

It is important to mention that these answers are only from the respondents who came for economic reasons, as these determinants are about economic labour migration. For the respondents who decided to migrate due to family circumstances or for study these determinants are not important.

**Table 10 Topics from questions about the determinants of labour migration**

	YES	NO
Expected higher income	12	5
Arranged a job before	6	11
Visited Morogoro before	6	11
Individual decision	15	2
Probability of getting a loan	8	9
Compare income with others	7	10
Family members migrated before	14	3
Knew people in Morogoro before	14	3
- family	- 8	
- friend	- 4	
- classmate	- 1	
- tribe	- 1	
- other	- 2	

As shown, most respondents (12 out of 17) did expect to get a higher income in Morogoro. Therefore, the determinant of expected income is important in this research. The respondents who expected a normal income (4 out of 17) or that did not think about how much income they would get in Morogoro (1 out of 17) are all male. All females that came for economic reasons expected to get a higher income.

The next determinant, the probability of getting a job, is tested with a question whether they arranged a job before they came to Morogoro. Only some respondents (6 out of 17) did arrange a job on beforehand. However, from the respondents that did not arrange a job on beforehand, some respondents (4 out of 17) expected to get help from their family to get a job, so some respondents (7 out of 17) did not know if and how they would get a job when they come to Morogoro. Therefore, it can be concluded that several respondents (10 out of 17) arranged a job or thought that with the help of family they could easily get a job. For the other respondents (7 out of 17) it was a gamble whether they would find a job.

The question whether they visited Morogoro before can be important for the probability of getting a job, because when they did visit Morogoro before, they knew better what the situation was in Morogoro. Most of the respondents (11 out of 17) did not visit Morogoro before they came to live there, so only some respondents (6 out of 17) did know Morogoro before they migrated. All those who have been in Morogoro before they migrated are male. What can be concluded is that most respondents did not know how the situation in Morogoro exactly was from their own experience. However, most respondents (14 out of 17) did know other people who moved to Morogoro before they came. The migrant also could get information from these people, and therefore already have some idea about the chance of getting a job or getting more income.

It can be concluded that the probability of getting a job might not be important for all the respondents. But, as some already arranged a job or visited Morogoro before and most respondents did know other people in Morogoro, for several respondents the chance of getting a job might be important in the decision to migrate.

In Section 2.4, it is explained that sometimes a family decide that it would be good when one of its family members migrate. This decision might be made so that the family can maximize their income, or for risk sharing across the family members by having different jobs. However, only a few respondents (2 out of 17) explained that their decision to come to Morogoro was made with the family, while the rest (15 out of 17) all made the decision to migrate by themselves. Therefore, risk sharing across the family and household income maximization was not important for most respondents of this research.

To measure whether market failure is important many variables are needed. Therefore, this research cannot completely answer the question whether it is important or not. However, a bit less than half of the respondent answered that being able to get a loan in town was important in their decision to migrate to Morogoro, while a bit more than half of the respondents said that getting a loan in town was not important in their decision to migrate. Some respondents explained why they did not expect to get a loan. If someone wants to get a loan, one needs to own a business or to have some capital. Without that, it is not possible to get a loan. From the respondents for which a loan or insurance was one of the reasons to come to town, two respondents explain they have a loan or insurance, while one respondent did not manage to obtain a loan. The other five respondents do not say whether they have a loan or insurance. What can be concluded is that for some respondents, market failure, like getting loans, might be important in their decision to migrate, but it is still hard to get a loan in town.

Relative income in comparison with a reference group is studied in this research by asking whether the respondents do compare their income with others and whether this was important in their decision to migrate. Some respondents (7 out of 17) replied that comparing their income with others indeed did influence their decision to migrate, while some other respondents (10 out of 17) reported that a comparison of income with others was not important. Most respondents that compared their income, compare it with people with the same profession. When someone migrates from the rural to the urban, the reference group will change towards a new group of people with the same profession living in the town. So although someone might think migration will increase his relative position, this might not change as expected because the reference group changes as well. Therefore, the relative income in comparison with a reference group might be important for some of the respondents in their decision to migrate, but in practice, it might not change their position after migration.

The last determinant is that of social networks. The theory of social capital stresses the importance of knowing other people that migrated in the decision to migrate. Most of the respondents (14 out of 17) did have family who migrated before they migrated themselves, from which some respondents (8 out of 17) did have family that also migrated to Morogoro. When looking to the broader network, several of the respondents (14 out of 17) did know people living in Morogoro before they migrated. The people who already lived in Morogoro are mainly family and friends, but sometimes classmates, people from the same tribe or others. When someone had family or friends living in Morogoro before them, they always received help from them with finding an accommodation to stay, a job or both. The classmates, people from the same tribe and other contacts did not help the new migrants. Overall, it can be concluded that social networks indeed can influence the decision to migrate.

Personal characteristics are also tested in this research. According to the human capital theory variables such as age, the level of education, marital status and skills can have an influence on who does migrate and who does not. In this research, questions have been asked about the personal characteristics of the respondents. However, some variables, such as marital status, working experience and the level of education, are only asked about the current situation of the migrant and therefore cannot be used to describe the situation of the respondent when he or she decided to migrate. Still, some variables are known, and these are shown in Table 11.

From the respondents that migrated for economic reasons most are male (13 out of 17). When these respondents migrated, they were still young. No respondents who came to Morogoro for economic reasons were older than thirty years. A big group of respondents (11 out of 17) came from a region close to Morogoro, however, a large group (6 out of 17) came from further away. About half of the respondents lived in other places before, while the other half came directly from the place of origin to Morogoro.

These results show that some personal characteristics, such as age and gender, indeed can influence whether someone will migrate or not.

**Table 11 Description of respondents that migrated for economic reasons**

	# OF RESPONDENTS
Gender	
- Male	13
- Female	4
Age when migrated	
- 15-19	6
- 20-24	8
- 25-29	3
- ≥30	0
Distance between origin and Morogoro	
- Close	11
- Far	6
Lived in more places	
- Yes	8
- No	9

### 5.3 Evaluation of the decision to migrate

The previous sections showed the reasons why the respondents decided to migrate. These respondents, who now live in Morogoro, might look differently to their reasons as they did then. How did the migration work out? Are their expectations about Morogoro met? And are they positive or maybe negative about their decision to migrate? That is what is looked at in this section.

In the interviews, the respondents were asked: *“You mentioned before your reasons to migrate. When looking to your situation now, how do you currently evaluate your reasons to migrate?”*. The answers to this question are summarized in Table 12.

**Table 12 Evaluation of the decision to migrate**

	BETTER	A BIT BETTER	NO DIFFERENCE	WORSE
All respondents	18	5	2	0
Economic reasons to migrate	10	5	2	0
Family circumstances	7	0	0	0
Study	1	0	0	0

As Table 12 shows, the respondents that came for family circumstances or study to Morogoro do all evaluate their decision to migrate as a positive decision. Some say they like the place and that life is good in Morogoro. One respondent is satisfied as she is still in love with her husband for whom she came to Morogoro, another two are satisfied as they depend on themselves now.

From the respondents who migrated for economic reasons, most (15 out of 17) are positive about the decision to migrate. Most respondents (10 out of 17) are happy or very happy with their decision to migrate. Several respondents explain they can earn more income in Morogoro. They are happy with their income for several reasons. One respondent is happy about this, as he is now able to help his family and friends. Another one is happy with more income, as she otherwise would not be so healthy. Another one

is happy with the income, as he can now rent his own place to live. One other respondent explains he likes the contact with people in Morogoro, as they often exchange ideas.

Some of the respondents who migrated for economic reasons answered that their decision to migrate is a positive decision but that their lives did become only a little bit better (5 out of 17). Most respondents that are a bit happy with their decision to migrate explain that their income did increase and therefore their life did improve, but that their life did not improve so much as they expected. These respondents did not reach their aims yet. One respondent explains that she found out one needs more than income alone to get a better life.

Only two respondents that migrated for economic reasons (2 out of 17) do not experience any difference in their life compared with before they migrated. Their situation did not change with the migration and they did not reach their aims yet. The two respondents who do not experience an improvement in their life are both young women (eighteen and twenty-four years old) who worked for just 2-3 years. It might therefore be possible that this opinion can change as they stay for a longer time in Morogoro and become older. However, it might also be possible that the people who are older or who stayed in Morogoro a long time might have forgotten their original expectations and are therefore more positive in their evaluation of life after migration.

In general, it can be concluded that the life of these respondents did improve due to their decision to migrate. However, not everyone is as positive about their decision to migrate as others are. For some, their decision to migrate did not change their situation as much as they expected.

## *5.4 Satisfaction with life in general and with the specific domains of life*

After this general evaluation of the decision to migrate, the interviews go more into detail regarding the satisfaction with life in general of the respondents and how this changed due to migration. In addition, more attention is paid to the satisfaction with specific domains of life, which are:

- Health satisfaction;
- Economic satisfaction;
- Job satisfaction;
- Family satisfaction;
- Friendship satisfaction;
- Personal satisfaction;
- Community environment satisfaction.

In Section 5.4.1, the satisfaction with life in general will be discussed. Section 5.4.2 will give the satisfaction with the health domain of life. In Section 5.4.3, the economic domain of life will be discussed. Section 5.4.4 will outline the satisfaction with the job domain. In Section 5.4.5, the satisfaction with the family domain of life will be outlined. In Section 5.4.6, the satisfaction with the friendship domain will be discussed. Section 5.4.7 gives more attention to the personal satisfaction. In Section 5.4.8, the satisfaction with the community environment domain of life will be outlined. Finally, Section 5.4.9 will give a general overview of the satisfaction with the domains of life.

### 5.4.1 Satisfaction with life in general

First, more attention is paid to the satisfaction with life in general. In the interview, the question is asked “*How satisfied are you with your life?*”. The results of this question

can be seen in Table 13, in which the answers of the groups of respondents are shown who migrated for different reasons.

**Table 13 Satisfaction with life in general**

	SATISFIED	A BIT SATISFIED	DISSATISFIED
All respondents	7	8	10
Economic reasons	4	6	7
Family circumstances	2	2	3
Study	1	0	0

Table 13 shows that while most respondents (15 out of 25) are positive about their decision to migrate, many respondents (10 out of 25) are dissatisfied with their life, while some respondents are positive but are only a bit satisfied with life (8 out of 25). The group that is satisfied with their life is not so big (7 out of 25). There is no big difference in the level of life satisfaction between the respondents who migrated for economic reasons and the respondents that migrated for family reasons.

The respondents who are satisfied with their life, say they are satisfied because they have enough money for their basic needs. One respondent is satisfied because he became familiar with the environment and he knows his way to find enough money to survive.

The explanations from the respondents who are just a bit satisfied are more varied. Several respondents are somehow satisfied because they are able to earn enough money for their basic needs. In addition, some of the respondents explain that they like the culture of Morogoro as well as the people living in Morogoro. However, they have different reasons to be not so much satisfied. Several respondents are not as satisfied as they still do not earn enough money. One respondent wants to have his own house. Another would like to start a family but needs money for that. One respondent is not very satisfied, as she would like to go back to her family. Finally, two respondents are not very satisfied, as their aims are not met yet.

There are also respondents who are dissatisfied with their life in general. Four respondents are dissatisfied with their life because life is still hard and they are still fighting for a better life. Another reason why three other respondents are dissatisfied with their life is that their plans are not made yet. For three respondents a low salary is making them dissatisfied. One of these respondents said that his income is low while his level of needs is high. Last, one respondent is dissatisfied because his capital is just small.

Interestingly, within the groups of economic migrants only male respondents answered that they were satisfied with life, while the female respondents were more often dissatisfied with life. Also, only the older and more experienced respondents in the group of economic migrants were satisfied with life. Therefore, it is possible satisfaction with life improves with age. However, in the group of respondents that migrated for family reasons, it is only the older respondents that are dissatisfied with life, while the younger respondents were more positive about their life satisfaction. So it is not possible to draw any conclusions about the relation between age and life satisfaction in this research.

Table 14 shows the experienced change in life satisfaction of the respondents due to migration to Morogoro. It becomes clear that almost all respondents (21 out of 25) do experience a positive change in their life satisfaction due to migration. Several respondents say their life satisfaction increases because in Morogoro they earn more money. Three respondents say life in the place of origin was harder than in Morogoro. One respondent is satisfied because he can get everything he wants in Morogoro. One other respondent is satisfied because she is now living alone and with that, she does not experience harassment from other people any more.

**Table 14 Change in life satisfaction due to migration**

	BETTER	SAME	WORSE	UNKNOWN
All respondents	21	0	3	1
Economic reason	14	0	3	0
Family reason	6	0	0	1
Study	1	0	0	0

Only three respondents (3 out of 25), who all migrated for economic reasons, do experience a decrease in their level of life satisfaction. The respondents that do experience a decrease in their life satisfaction are all male. The reasons they gave for the decrease in their satisfaction with life in general are diverse. One respondent says he was more free and happy in his place of origin, he misses living together with his relatives and he could eat for free there. One other respondent found it hard to depend on himself. In his place of origin, he was depending on his parents, while in Morogoro he has to earn his own income. Lastly, one respondent first migrated to a bigger city and then came to Morogoro for work, but he likes the big city more.

#### 5.4.2 Health satisfaction

The first domain of life is that of health. In the interviews, it is asked how satisfied the respondents are with their health. The results are shown in Table 15.

**Table 15 Health satisfaction**

	SATISFIED	A BIT SATISFIED	DISSATISFIED
All respondents	21	0	4
Economic reasons	15	0	2
Family circumstances	5	0	2
Study	1	0	0

As Table 15 demonstrates, most respondents are satisfied with their health. Only a few (4 out of 25) are dissatisfied with their health, the rest is all satisfied with it. Remarkably, only young people (younger than thirty) said they were dissatisfied with their health, while you could expect someone to become less satisfied with their health when they got older.

Next to their level of satisfaction with their health, it is asked whether and how their health did change due to migration. These answers are shown in Table 16.

**Table 16 Health change**

	BETTER	SAME	WORSE	UNKNOWN
All respondents	10	9	2	4
Economic reason	7	5	2	3
Family reason	3	3	0	1
Study	0	1	0	0

Table 16 shows that many respondents got a better health (10 out of 25) or their health did not change due to migration (9 out of 25). Only a few (2 out of 25) experience a worse health level, from which one respondent became sick and another notices he is getting older and therefore faces a worse health level. Some respondents that say they got a better health due to migration to Morogoro explained this: one respondent was working in mining before and said that this was so tough for his body; some other respondents say it is easier to get a balanced diet.

### 5.4.3 Economic satisfaction

The satisfaction for the economic domain of life is measured in this research with the use of two variables, namely income satisfaction and living situation satisfaction. The results are shown in Table 17 and 18.

**Table 17 Income satisfaction**

	SATISFIED	A BIT SATISFIED	DISSATISFIED	UNKNOWN
All respondents	7	8	7	3
Economic reasons	4	5	5	3
Family circumstances	2	3	2	0
Study	1	0	0	0

Table 17 shows that about one third (7 out of 25) of the respondents is satisfied with their income, one third (8 out of 25) is a bit satisfied with their income and one third (7 out of 25) is dissatisfied with their income. This means this variable gives mixed results. When focussing on the different groups based on reasons to migrate, there are no big differences between them. Only male respondents are dissatisfied with their income, the women are a bit more positive. When focussing on the family group, only the respondents who stay for a long time in Morogoro are dissatisfied with their income. The respondents who are living in Morogoro only for a short while are more positive. It might be that the respondents who are a longer time in Morogoro start to focus more on income and less on their original reason for migration.

Some of the respondents are satisfied with their income because they can fulfil their needs. Several respondents say they are a bit satisfied with their income because they can fulfil in their basic needs, but they still think they do not earn enough money. One respondent is dissatisfied because he cannot meet all his needs with his income. Another respondent explains that he is dissatisfied because “day after day you want to earn more and more” (respondent 6).

**Table 18 Living situation satisfaction**

	SATISFIED	A BIT SATISFIED	DISSATISFIED
All respondents	13	6	6
Economic reasons	7	5	5
Family circumstances	5	1	1
Study	1	0	0

The respondents are more positive about their living situation, which can be seen in Table 18. A large group (13 out of 25) is satisfied with their living situation, while a quarter of the respondents are a bit satisfied (6 out of 25) and another quarter of the respondents (6 out of 25) are dissatisfied with their living situation. Several respondents are satisfied with their living situation because they have their own house and therefore they do not have any disturbances of others. Some others are also satisfied with renting a house. For one respondent it gives him the freedom to do anything he wants. Several respondents who are a bit satisfied with their living situation say they would like to have their own house. One respondent says about this that the difficulty about renting is that if the owner wants it, he easily can force tenants to leave the house. Another respondent is satisfied with the house, but does not like to live together with her mother in law. Some respondents are dissatisfied with their living situation, as they want to have their own house. Another respondent does not like the harassments of the house owner.



Remarkably, more respondents who came for family reasons to Morogoro are satisfied with their living situation as compared to those who came for economic reasons. The male respondents are more satisfied with their living situation than the female respondents.

What can be said about the satisfaction with the economic domain of life is that not all respondents are satisfied. Especially the amount of income is not satisfying enough for several respondents, but also some respondents are dissatisfied with their living situation. Then the question is how did their income and living situation change due to migration? This is shown in Table 19 and 20.

**Table 19 Income change**

	BETTER	SAME	WORSE	UNKNOWN
All respondents	13	1	0	11
Economic reason	12	1	0	4
Family reason	1	0	0	6
Study	0	0	0	1

Almost all respondents who answered the question about income change do experience an increase in the amount of income they get. Only one respondent experiences no change in the amount of income he receives. Two respondents make a remark here that their income did not increase so much, but that it at least increased a bit. Two respondents saw their income increasing, as they can now pay for their own house.

**Table 20 Living situation change**

	BETTER	SAME	WORSE	UNKNOWN
All respondents	20	3	1	1
Economic reason	13	2	1	1
Family reason	7	0	0	0
Study	0	1	0	0

More respondents answered the question about how their living situation changed. Here, also most respondents (20 out of 25) experience an improvement in their living situation. Several respondents explain that before they migrated they lived in houses of grass and mud. In Morogoro, there are more modern houses available, with electricity and piped water. One respondent prefers the housing situation in Morogoro because he has his own room and he is free to do anything he wants to do, while before he was living with relatives. Few respondents (3 out of 25) experience no change in their living situation. They say the living situation in Morogoro is comparable with the situation in the place of origin. Only one respondent (1 out of 25) experiences a decrease in the living situation. This respondent does not like the surroundings of Morogoro.

Therefore, while not all respondents are satisfied with their income and living situation, most respondents do experience an increase in these two variables.

#### 5.4.4 Job satisfaction

Job satisfaction is the next domain of life. Table 21 shows how satisfied the respondents are with this domain of life.

**Table 21 Job satisfaction**

	SATISFIED	A BIT SATISFIED	DISSATISFIED	UNKNOWN
All respondents	10	3	9	3
Economic reasons	7	3	5	2
Family circumstances	2	0	4	1
Study	1	0	0	0

What can be concluded from Table 21 is that about the same amount of respondents is satisfied with their job (10 out of 25) as there are respondents that are dissatisfied with their job (9 out of 25). A smaller group of respondents is a bit satisfied with their job (3 out of 25). Two respondents explain that they are satisfied with their job because they are capable of doing it. Another respondent is happy because he already has a lot of experience in the field. One respondent is a bit satisfied with her job because she likes her job, but she would like to get a bigger office. Another respondent still wants to develop himself more. Several respondents are dissatisfied with their job. They would like to change their job, to shift to another business or to become a shop owner. One respondent would like to go for further studies. Two respondents are selling fruit on the street but would like to have a fixed place to do their job.

Remarkably, mainly the younger, less experienced respondents are dissatisfied with their job. An older and more experienced person turns out to be more often satisfied with his or her job. Moreover, from the respondents that migrated for economic reasons, only men are satisfied with their job.

**Table 22 Job change**

	NO CHANGE	CHANGE OF JOB	STARTED WORKING	CONTINUE STUDY
All respondents	5	9	10	1
Economic reasons	4	7	6	0
Family circumstances	1	2	4	0
Study	0	0	0	1

As can be seen in Table 22, only a small proportion of the respondents (5 out of 25) did not change their job when they came to Morogoro. A larger proportion (9 out of 25) did change their job when they came to Morogoro. Several respondents were farmers in the place of origin or they were working in the mining industry. In Morogoro, often they started working in shops. However, another respondent who was working in a shop in his place of origin became a hairdresser in Morogoro. Also one respondent changed from being employed toward becoming self-employed in Morogoro. Next to that, several other respondents (10 out of 25) studied in the place of origin. When they finished their education they migrated to Morogoro and started working there.

#### 5.4.5 Family satisfaction

The next domain of life is that of the family. In this research, it is asked how satisfied the respondents are with the contact that they have with their family. The results are shown in Table 23.

**Table 23 Family contact satisfaction**

	SATISFIED	A BIT SATISFIED	DISSATISFIED
All respondents	19	4	2
Economic reasons	13	2	2
Family circumstances	5	2	0
Study	1	0	0

As can be seen in Table 23, most respondents (19 out of 25) are satisfied with the contact that they have with their family. Some respondents are only a bit satisfied with the contact with their family (4 out of 25). These respondents would like to see their family more often. An even smaller proportion is dissatisfied with the contact with their family (2 out of 25). The respondents that are dissatisfied with the family contact both migrated for economic reasons. One of these respondents is dissatisfied with the contact with his family, because before he migrated he could have contact with everyone from his family and see them every day, while that is different now. It is possible that this migrant did not realize that the contact with his family changes due to migration. The other respondent is dissatisfied because she got married after living some time in Morogoro and her husband destroyed the phone numbers of her family.

**Table 24 Family contact change**

	BETTER	SAME	WORSE	UNKNOWN
All respondents	5	16	3	1
Economic reason	2	12	3	0
Family reason	3	4	0	0
Study	0	0	0	1

As Table 24 shows, most respondents say their contact with their family did not change (16 out of 25). They explain they still have contact with each other. Surprisingly, several respondents (5 out of 25) said that the contact with their family improved due to migration to Morogoro. One of these respondents first migrated to a place further away, so he came closer to home when he decided to migrate to Morogoro. Another respondent explains the contact with her family became better when she decided to move away from them, because when she is living too close to her family, she got many fights with them. Furthermore, some respondents (3 out of 25) who all came to Morogoro for economic reasons say they have less contact with their family than they had before. One respondent explains this is because she does not have enough money to contact her family often. Another respondent explained that when she got married, her husband did not allow her to have contact with her family.

#### 5.4.6 Friendship satisfaction

Another domain of life is that of friendship. In this research, friendship is asked about in terms of social contacts. Table 25 shows the satisfaction for this domain of life.

**Table 25 Social contact satisfaction**

	SATISFIED	A BIT SATISFIED	DISSATISFIED	UNKNOWN
All respondents	16	2	6	1
Economic reasons	11	1	4	1
Family circumstances	4	1	2	0
Study	1	0	0	0

As Table 25 shows, most respondents (16 out of 25) are satisfied with the social contacts they have. A small group (2 out of 25) is only a bit satisfied with their social contacts. One of these respondents says he was more satisfied with his friends before he migrated. Some respondents (6 out of 25) are dissatisfied with their social contacts. One respondent does not like the jealousy of people living in Morogoro. Another is sad that the contact is broken with his friends from his place of origin.

**Table 26 Social contact change**

	BETTER	SAME	WORSE	UNKNOWN
All respondents	10	6	8	1
Economic reason	9	2	5	1
Family reason	1	3	3	0
Study	0	1	0	0

Table 26 shows that the respondents experience different things regarding the change of their social contacts due to migration. The largest group of respondents (10 out of 25) says that their friendships did improve due to migration. Several respondents explain they got more or better friends in Morogoro. In addition, some respondents say they have good conversations with their friends in Morogoro, they give each other advice and talk about how to make money.

Some respondents (6 out of 25) do not experience any change in their social contacts. Next to that, a group of respondents (8 out of 25) says that their friendships reduced when they migrated to Morogoro. Several respondents explain they do have fewer friends in Morogoro than they had when they were living in the place of origin. Some respondents like the friends they had in the place of origin more than in Morogoro. One respondent says that people are more jealous in Morogoro. Another respondent says that she cannot trust anyone in Morogoro, while she did trust her home friends.

#### 5.4.7 Personal satisfaction

One of the last domains of life is the personal life. This domain is a broad domain, which can consist of several variables. This research focuses on the leisure time and leisure possibilities of the respondents. The respondents are asked whether they are satisfied with their leisure time and the leisure possibilities they have. The results are shown in Table 27.

**Table 27 Leisure satisfaction**

	SATISFIED	A BIT SATISFIED	DISSATISFIED	UNKNOWN
All respondents	14	3	5	3
Economic reasons	9	1	4	3
Family circumstances	4	2	1	0
Study	1	0	0	0

As Table 27 demonstrates, most respondents (14 out of 25) are satisfied with the leisure time and leisure possibilities they have. Five respondents say they are satisfied with their amount of leisure time while they say that they have only little or no time for leisure. One respondent even says that his amount of leisure time is not sufficient. However, they explain that they prefer having more income over having more leisure time. A few respondents (3 out of 25) are a bit satisfied with the leisure time they have. They all would like to have more leisure time, but they realize it is not possible for them

to get more leisure time. Five respondents (5 out of 25) are dissatisfied with the amount of leisure time they have. They all want to have more free time.

**Table 28 Leisure change**

	BETTER	SAME	WORSE	UNKNOWN
All respondents	5	5	9	6
Economic reason	4	4	6	3
Family reason	1	0	3	3
Study	0	1	0	0

Five respondents (5 out of 25) answered their amount of leisure time did increase after they migrate to Morogoro. In Morogoro, they have more leisure time than they had in the place of origin. However, for many respondents (9 out of 25) their amount of leisure time did decrease after they came to Morogoro. Most of these respondents explain they have almost no time for leisure. They are working the whole day and after work they travel home, eat and going to sleep. Before they migrated, they had some leisure time. Several respondents (5 out of 25) did not experience any change in their amount of leisure time. Two respondents explain that before they came to Morogoro, they did not have any free time, which is the same now they are living in Morogoro.

#### 5.4.8 Community environment satisfaction

The last domain of life is the community environment domain. This domain is studied in this research by looking to the differences in transport, hospitals, electricity and water services between there place of origin and Morogoro. Also, a question is asked "*Which place do you like more, Morogoro or your place of origin?*". This question goes deeper into their feeling of which place they are really attracted to. Therefore, this is an interesting question for the community domain. The answers are shown in Table 29.

**Table 29 Preferred place of living**

	MOROGORO	PLACE OF ORIGIN	BOTH	UNKNOWN
All respondents	12	9	2	2
Economic reasons	8	5	2	2
Family reasons	3	4	0	0
Study reasons	1	0	0	0

As can be seen in Table 29, many respondents (12 out of 25) prefer Morogoro. However, a large group also prefers the place of origin (9 out of 25). A small amount of respondents (2 out of 25) could not choose between the place of origin and Morogoro and they answered they like both places.

As mentioned before, this research also asked about the differences between the place of origin and Morogoro with regard to transport, hospitals, and electricity and water services. The results are shown in Table 30. This table shows that many respondents experience an improvement in these variables or experience no change between the place of origin and Morogoro. Only a few respondents experienced a decrease in the services when they migrated to Morogoro.

**Table 30 Community environment change**

	BETTER	SAME	WORSE	UNKNOWN
Transport				
- All respondents	19	6	0	0
- Economic reasons	14	3	0	0
- Family reasons	5	2	0	0
- Study	0	1	0	0
Hospitals				
- All respondents	11	10	3	1
- Economic reasons	8	5	3	1
- Family reasons	3	4	0	0
- Study	0	1	0	0
Electricity				
- All respondents	14	9	2	0
- Economic reasons	9	7	1	0
- Family reasons	5	1	1	0
- Study	0	1	0	0
Water				
- All respondents	11	9	4	1
- Economic reasons	7	6	3	1
- Family reasons	4	2	1	0
- Study	0	1	0	0

Transport is the variable that improved the most for most respondents (19 out of 25) when they came to Morogoro. In the place of origin, the roads are bad, while in the urban area the transport facilities are good. One respondent explains that the bad infrastructure is making it even more difficult to earn money with agriculture. When one harvested some crops, one has to spend a lot of money to travel to the closest market. At the end, it is possible the crops are sold with a loss due to the high travelling costs. A few respondents (6 out of 25) did not experience any change in transport due to migration to Morogoro.

Several respondents (11 out of 25) are of the opinion that Morogoro has better hospitals than the place of origin. Some respondents say that in the place of origin hospitals are not available or very far away. One respondent says that the hospitals in Morogoro do improve, while hospitals in her place of origin do not improve (respondent 11). A few respondents (3 out of 25) however say that the hospitals in the place of origin are better than the hospitals in Morogoro. One of these respondents explains that in Kilimanjaro area, where this respondent comes from, there are many good hospitals. Several respondents (10 out of 25) say there is no difference between the hospitals in the place of origin and in Morogoro.

With regard to electricity, for most respondents (14 out of 25) Morogoro has better services than in the place of origin. Several respondents explain that there was no electricity available in the place of origin. Two respondents (2 out of 25) say that the electricity services in the place of origin are better than in Morogoro, as there are sometimes problems with electricity in Morogoro. Several respondents (9 out of 25) do not experience a difference in the electricity services between Morogoro and the place of origin.

Finally, eleven respondents (11 out of 25) say that Morogoro has better water facilities than the place of origin. Some respondents had to use a pump in the place of origin. Two respondents explain they used river water in the place of origin. However, four respondents (4 out of 25) say that the water facilities in Morogoro are worse than in the place of origin. In Morogoro there are sometimes problem with the water. Nine

respondents (9 out of 25) did not experience any difference between the water facilities in Morogoro and in the place of origin.

#### 5.4.9 General overview of the satisfaction with the specific domains of life

After having discussed the satisfaction for all the specific domains of life, this section will put them all together to get a better overview. This is done by putting the specific domains of life together in Table 31. If for one domain of life several variables have been asked, the number of respondents for these questions is averaged. For the community environment satisfaction if a respondent says he prefers Morogoro it is assumed this respondent is satisfied with the community environment. When a respondent prefers the place of origin, it is assumed that respondent is dissatisfied with the community environment. When a respondent says he prefers both, it is assumed this respondent is a bit satisfied with the community environment.

**Table 31 Satisfaction with the domains of life**

	SATISFIED	A BIT SATISFIED	DISSATISFIED	UNKNOWN
Life satisfaction	7	8	10	0
Health satisfaction	21	0	4	0
Economic satisfaction	10	7	7	1
Job satisfaction	10	3	9	3
Family satisfaction	19	4	2	0
Friendship satisfaction	16	2	6	1
Personal satisfaction	14	3	5	3
Community environment satisfaction	12	2	9	2

Table 31 gives an interesting picture of satisfaction with life. Overall, the respondents are positive about the specific domains of life. Only for the economic domain and the job domain, a bit less than half of the respondents (10 out of 25) are satisfied. About half or more of the respondents are satisfied with the other domains of life. However, when looking to the satisfaction with life in general, only some of the respondents (7 out of 25) said they are satisfied with life. On the other hand, more respondents said they are a bit satisfied or dissatisfied with their life in general, compared to the amount of respondents that said they are only a bit satisfied or dissatisfied with the specific domains of life.

Table 32 shows how the specific domains of life and life in general have changed. If there are several variables for one domain of life, the average of these is taken. Only the job domain is left out because it is only looking whether the job changed, but not if this is better or worse.

**Table 32 Change in the satisfaction for the domains of life**

	BETTER	SAME	WORSE	UNKNOWN
Life change	21	0	3	1
Health change	10	9	2	4
Economic change	17	2	1	5
Family change	5	16	3	1
Friendship change	10	6	8	1
Personal change	5	5	9	6
Community environment change	14	9	2	0

Table 32 shows that most respondents (21 out of 25) do experience an improvement in their satisfaction with life in general. This can be caused by changes within the specific domains of life. According to the answers of the respondents, there is not one specific domain of life that improved as much as life satisfaction in general did. On the other hand, the respondents do not experience a decrease in their satisfaction with life in general as often as they experience it for some domains of life.

### *5.5 Reasons to remain in Morogoro or to consider returning to the place of origin*

After focussing on the reasons to migrate and the satisfaction that it brought, it is useful to look in more detail to the reasons that make a migrant wanting to stay in Morogoro and the reasons that make a migrant want to return to the place of origin. Therefore, this section will focus on the current relationship of the respondents with the place of origin.

A first thing to focus upon is how often the respondents do visit the place of origin, now they are living in Morogoro. The answers on this are shown in Table 33.

**Table 33 Frequency of visiting the place of origin**

	NOT	ONCE EVERY 2 YEAR	1 TO 3 TIMES A YEAR	ONCE A MONTH
All respondents	3	1	19	2
Economic reasons	2	1	13	1
Family reasons	1	0	6	0
Study	0	0	0	1

As Table 33 shows, most respondents do visit the place of origin. The biggest group of respondents (19 out of 25) does visit the place of origin one to three times a year. One respondent visits the place of origin only once every two years and a couple of respondents (2 out of 25) visit their origin once a month. When the respondents visit the place of origin, mostly they stay in a house of the family, mainly in their parents' house. In total, this is the case for eighteen respondents (18 out of 22). Only four respondents (4 out of 22) who do visit the place of origin have their own house in the place of origin. Three of them got the house after they migrated to Morogoro. Only one respondent already had a house when he left his place of origin. However, as this respondent says, "at the village it is simple to build a house, just from mud and leaves", so this house does not cost much. Two respondents also own some cattle at the place of origin.

Only a few respondents (3 out of 25) do not visit the place of origin any more. One respondent explains this by saying he cannot leave his business alone. Another respondent explained that in the beginning, she did visit her place of origin, but after she got married, she did not visit her place of origin any more.

Following, Section 5.5.1 will outline the possibility that the respondents see to return to the place of origin. Then, Section 5.5.2 shows the desire of the respondents to return to the place of origin. Section 5.5.3 will outline where the respondents want to live permanently. In Section 5.5.4 it will be discussed which place is preferred by the respondents. Finally, in Section 5.5.5 the expectations for the future are outlined.



### 5.5.1 The possibility to return to the place of origin

While most respondents do visit the place of origin, they did not return to live there again. Therefore, the next question is whether it is possible for the respondents to return to the place of origin. Table 34 shows the results.

**Table 34 Possibility to return to the place of origin**

	YES	NO
All respondents	15	10
Economic reasons	10	7
Family reasons	4	3
Study	1	0

While a large group of respondents (15 out of 25) does say they can return to the place of origin if they want to, also many respondents (10 out of 25) do not see the possibility to return to the place of origin. From the respondents that migrated for economic reasons, the respondents who are younger and have less experience do more often see a possibility to return than the older respondents.

Just like the migrants had their reasons to migrate to Morogoro, the migrants also mentioned some reasons why they have or have no possibility to return to the place of origin. These are shown in Table 35 and Table 36.

**Table 35 Reasons named for the possibility to go back to the place of origin**

	# OF RESPONDENTS
All respondents who see a possibility	15
- Economic	9
- Home feeling	1
- No specific reason	5
Economic reasons	10
- Economic	7
- Home feeling	0
- No specific reason	3
Family reasons	4
- Economic	2
- Home feeling	1
- No specific reason	1
Study	1
- Economic	0
- Home feeling	0
- No specific reason	1

Table 35 and 36 show that many respondents think about the possibility to return to the place of origin in economic terms. Most respondents give economic reasons why they can or cannot return to the place of origin. This is the case for the respondents that migrated to Morogoro for economic reasons, but also partly for the respondents that came for family reasons. However, these respondents, who came for family reasons, also name family and the home feeling as reasons why they can or cannot return to the place of origin. The family reason that one respondent named to explain why she cannot return to her place of origin is that her husband is not from that region and this respondent wants to stay with her husband.

**Table 36 Reasons for the impossibility to return to the place of origin**

	# OF RESPONDENTS
All respondents who not see a possibility	10
- Economic	7
- Family	1
- Home feeling	1
- No specific reason	1
Economic reasons	7
- Economic	6
- Family	0
- Home feeling	0
- No specific reason	1
Family reasons	3
- Economic	1
- Family	1
- Home feeling	1
- No specific reason	0
Study reasons	0
- Economic	0
- Family	0
- Home feeling	0
- No specific reason	0

There are several economic reasons named why a respondent can or cannot return to the place of origin. These are shown in Table 37 and 38.

**Table 37 Economic reasons for the possibility to return to the place of origin**

	# OF RESPONDENTS
Return only if the respondent fail in town	4
Return only if the respondent became successful	2
Return only if the respondent can get an income at the place of origin	2
The situation in the place of origin is improved	1

**Table 38 Economic reasons for the impossibility to return to the place of origin**

	# OF RESPONDENTS
Can earn income only in town	2
Return only if the respondent became successful	2
Need capital to invest at the place of origin	1
Do not see a reason to go back as live is good in Morogoro	1
Life in the place of origin is hard	1

Table 37 and 38 show that income is an important aspect for many respondents that do not see any possibility of returning to the place of origin. Remarkably, some respondents *do not* see a possibility to return to the place of origin unless they become successful first, while some respondents say they *do* see a possibility to return to the place of origin, but only after they succeeded in their aims. So actually, these people have the same opinion about the possibility to return to the place of origin. Another thing that is interesting here is that some respondents say they have to return if they fail, while others say they only can go to the place of origin if they are successful.

### 5.5.2 Desire to return to the place of origin

Next to the possibility to return, another important thing in returning to the place of origin or remaining in Morogoro is the desire to return to the place of origin. Whether the respondents do want to move to the place of origin can be seen in Table 39.

**Table 39 Desire to return to the place of origin**

	YES	NO
All respondents	12	13
Economic reasons	8	9
Family reasons	4	3
Study	0	1

Table 39 shows that there is a difference between the possibility and the desire of returning to the place of origin. Half of the respondents (12 out of 25) would like to move back to the place of origin, while the other half of the respondents (13 out of 25) does not want to return. More of the male respondents (7 out of 17), who migrated for economic reasons, do feel the desire to return than the females (1 out of 17). For the respondents who migrated for family reasons it is just the other way around, where the males do not feel the desire to return and most women (4 out of 7) do want to return to the place of origin. Also, from the respondents that migrated for family reasons, more often it are the younger respondents who are in Morogoro for a shorter while who have the desire to return to the place of origin.

In addition, most respondents gave reasons why they would like to go back or to stay in Morogoro. It is important to realize one respondent can name several reasons. These are shown in Table 40 and 42.

**Table 40 Reasons for the desire to return to the place of origin**

	# OF RESPONDENTS
All respondents who feel the desire to return	12
- Economic	12
- Home feeling	9
Economic reasons	8
- Economic	8
- Home feeling	6
Family reasons	4
- Economic	4
- Home feeling	3
Study	0
- Economic	0
- Home feeling	0

As can be seen in Table 40, for both the respondents who came for economic or for family reasons to Morogoro, economic reasons but also the home feeling is important in their desire to return to the place of origin. In this, it is the home feeling what make the respondents desire to return to the place of origin. The place of origin is where they come from and where their family lives. The economic reasons often make them stay in Morogoro. These economic reasons are shown in Table 41.

**Table 41 Economic reasons for the desire to return to the place of origin**

	# OF RESPONDENTS
Need more money	7
Want to fulfil plans	2
Return only well-made	1
Need capital in the place of origin	1
The life in the place of origin became better	1

Next to this, there are also respondents who do not want to return to the place of origin. Their reasons are displayed at Table 42.

**Table 42 Reasons for not feeling the desire to return to the place of origin**

	# OF RESPONDENTS
All respondents who not feel no desire to return	13
- Economic	8
- Family	1
- Morogoro as home	4
- Urban services	2
Economic reasons	9
- Economic	7
- Family	0
- Morogoro as home	2
- Urban services	2
Family reasons	3
- Economic	1
- Family	1
- Morogoro as home	1
- Urban services	0
Study reasons	1
- Economic	0
- Family	0
- Morogoro as home	1
- Urban services	0

Table 42 shows that economic reasons are important to feel the desire to remain in Morogoro for the respondents who came with economic reasons to Morogoro. However, for the respondents who came for economic reasons to Morogoro, also the urban services are important in the feeling to remain in Morogoro. The respondents who came for family reasons name several reasons for not wanting to return, one economic, one family reason and one respondent sees Morogoro as home. The family reason is again to stay with the husband. The economic reasons are explained in more detail in Table 43.

**Table 43 Economic reasons for not feeling the desire to return to the place of origin**

	# OF RESPONDENTS
Need an income	5
Save for own house	1
Life is complicated in the place of origin	1
No reason to return if become successful	1

In addition, some respondents say that they see Morogoro as their home. Several explanations are given for this, which can be seen in Table 44.

**Table 44 Reasons to see Morogoro as home**

	# OF RESPONDENTS
Started life in Morogoro	2
Do not want to be a newcomer in the place of origin again	2
Morogoro is a better place	1
Family also live in Morogoro now	1

### 5.5.3 Where to live permanently

The respondents have been asked “*Do you like to live in Morogoro permanently or do you want to return to your village of origin or move to somewhere else? Why?*”. The answer to this question is summarized in Table 45.

**Table 45 Place to live permanently**

	MOROGORO	PLACE OF ORIGIN	DO NOT KNOW	UNKNOWN
All respondents	13	6	5	1
Economic reasons	8	4	4	1
Family reasons	4	2	1	0
Study	1	0	0	0

As can be seen in Table 45 most respondents (13 out of 25) would like to live in Morogoro for the rest of their life. However, also some respondents (6 out of 25) want to return to the place of origin some time and some respondents (5 out of 25) do not really know where to would live for the rest of their life. From the respondents that migrated for economic reasons more women then males answered they would like to live in Morogoro forever, while for the respondents that migrated for family reasons more all the male respondents want to stay in Morogoro and more females want to return to the place of origin. Also, the respondents that migrated for family reasons and who live for a longer time in Morogoro have a stronger desire to remain in Morogoro.

### 5.5.4 Preferred place of living

Next to the question where they want to live permanently, also some attention is paid to which place they prefer. The answers are summarized in Table 46.

**Table 46 Preferred place of living**

	MOROGORO	PLACE OF ORIGIN	BOTH	UNKNOWN
All respondents	12	9	2	2
Economic reasons	8	5	2	2
Family reasons	3	4	0	0
Study	1	0	0	0

Again, many respondents (12 out of 25) prefer Morogoro, however, the group that prefers the place of origin is still quite big (9 out of 25). Next to that, there are some respondents who cannot choose between both places (2 out of 25), they like Morogoro

for economic reasons because that is the place where they can earn a living, while they like there place of origin as that is their home place.

The reasons why some respondents prefer Morogoro are shown in Table 47.

**Table 47 Reasons to prefer Morogoro to live**

	# OF RESPONDENTS
All respondents	12
- Economic	2
- Morogoro as home	2
- Urban services	1
- Family	1
- No specific reason	6
Economic reasons	8
- Economic	2
- Morogoro as home	2
- Urban services	1
- Family	0
- No specific reason	3
Family reasons	3
- Economic	0
- Morogoro as home	0
- Urban services	0
- Family	1
- No specific reason	2
Study	1
- Economic	0
- Morogoro as home	0
- Urban services	0
- Family	0
- No specific reason	1

The economic reasons named are the possibility to get income in Morogoro and the possibility to meet targets. When Morogoro is seen as home this is because the respondent explains he or she is settled down and became familiar with Morogoro.

Table 47 shows that only respondents who came for economic reasons to Morogoro also prefer Morogoro for economic reasons. However, some of the respondents who migrated for economic reasons also experience Morogoro as their home and one respondent wants to stay because of the urban services available in Morogoro. From the respondents who migrated for family reason only one respondent gave a reason and this was that the respondents do not want to leave her husband.

In addition, some reasons are named by the respondents who prefer the place of origin to live. These are explained in Table 48.

As can be seen in Table 48, one respondent who prefers his place of origin to live do not return to his place of origin because he cannot get an income there. This respondent came to Morogoro for economic reasons. Two respondents who came for family reasons to Morogoro prefer the place of origin as it is their home. Remarkably, two respondents prefer the place of origin because of the weather conditions there.

**Table 48 Reasons to prefer the place of origin to live**

	# OF RESPONDENTS
All respondents	9
- Economic	1
- Home feeling	2
- Weather	2
- No specific reason	4
Economic reasons	5
- Economic	1
- Home feeling	0
- Weather	1
- No specific reason	3
Family reasons	4
- Economic	0
- Home feeling	2
- Weather	1
- No specific reason	1
Study	0
- Economic	0
- Home feeling	0
- Weather	0
- No specific reason	0

### 5.5.5 Expectations for the future

Also the respondents are asked what they still expect for the future. Some respondents had many plans and are expecting to improve in many aspects in the future, while others were just emphasizing one aspect in which they hope to improve. All plans and expectations that the respondents have for the future are shown in Table 49.

**Table 49 Expectations for the future**

	# OF RESPONDENTS
Want to have a family	8
Want to change job	8
Want to earn more income	6
Want to own a house	5
Want to expand the business	5
Want to study more	4
Want to get a car	3
Want to get a better life	3
Want to earn more capital	3
Want to get a loan	1
Want to develop more	1
Want to become self-employed	1
Want to return home	1
No specific plans	4

As can be seen in Table 49, many respondents (8 out of 25) would like to start a family. Some respondents would like to own a house (5 out of 25), and a few

respondents (3 out of 25) are hoping on getting a car. In addition, some respondents (3 out of 25) emphasize they are still hoping for a better life.

Many respondents are hoping that in the future their job will change in some way. Several respondents (8 out of 25) are hoping to get another or a better job. Some other respondents (5 out of 25) are hoping to expand the business they already own. One respondent is hoping to become self-employed in the future. In addition, a few respondents (4 out of 25) are hoping to improve their situation by further studying.

Getting more income or capital is also important for many respondents. Many respondents (6 out of 25) are hoping to earn more income in the future. One respondent would like to get a loan for his business.

There are several respondents (4 out of 25) who are a bit afraid of telling their plans or who do not really have special plans for the future. One respondent is just hoping he will remain being able to foresee in his own needs. The other three respondents just say their future depends on their income. If they earn more income, than they can change their life, otherwise they just continue like this.

## *5.6 Differences between the groups and the influence of personal characteristics*

The sections before discussed the outcomes of the interviews executed for this study. In Section 5.6.1, it will be researched whether there are big differences between the three groups who migrated for several reasons. In addition, in Section 5.6.2 more attention is paid to the influence of personal characteristics.

### 5.6.1 The differences between the groups

In most tables of this chapter the difference between the answers of the respondents who migrated for economic reasons, family circumstances or study are outlined. All those tables showed that no big differences between the answers of these groups can be found. Although the respondents from the different groups had different reasons to migrate, they do not experience their life differently.

The different groups gave the same answers about how often they visit the place of origin, about the possibility and the desire to return to the place of origin and about which place they prefer. Only in the reasons the respondents gave for seeing, or not seeing, a possibility to return to the place of origin as well as for having, or not having, the desire to return to the place of origin there are some differences. The migrants that came for economic reasons gave more economic explanations than the migrants that came for family circumstances.

The experienced satisfaction with life in general and with the specific domains of life, does not differ between the groups. The only difference between the groups is that the respondents who migrated for economic reasons are more often negative about the changes in their life in general due to migration. Some economic migrants (3 out of 17) evaluate their decision to migrate negatively, while all respondents who migrated for family or study are positive about their decision to migrate. This is the same for the change in satisfaction with life in general due to migration, where some of the economic respondents (3 out of 17) experience a decrease in their satisfaction with life in general, and no respondent who migrated for family or study experience a decrease in their satisfaction with life in general.

For the change of health satisfaction, some of the economic respondents (3 out of 17) answered negative, while none of the other respondents did. Only one of the respondents experienced a decrease in their satisfaction with the living situation and



none experienced a decrease in satisfaction with their income, so the economic domain of life is improved due to migration. Some respondents (3 out of 17) who migrated for economic reasons experience a decrease in their satisfaction with the family domain, while none of the other respondents experience a decrease in this domain of life. Only for the friendship and the personal domains, it is the other way around. For the friendship domain, a bigger percentage of the respondents who migrated for family reasons (2 out of 7) experience a decrease in satisfaction than the respondents who migrated for economic reasons (4 out of 17). For the personal domain, this is the same, where several of the respondents who migrated for family reasons (3 out of 7) experience a decrease in satisfaction and several of the respondents who migrated for economic reasons (6 out of 17).

Overall, it can be said that the respondents who migrated for economic reasons do experience more a decrease in their satisfaction than the respondents who migrated for family reasons or study. It is possible that these migrants have had higher expectations about their life after migration than the respondents who came for family reasons.

### 5.6.2 The influence of personal characteristics

As explained in Section 4.5, more attention is paid to the influence of personal characteristics in the answers of the respondents. In this research, the influence of personal characteristics is checked for the different groups, in particular for the group of respondents that migrated for economic reasons and for family reasons. The respondent who came for study to Morogoro is left out of this part of the study, as this is just one respondent and therefore this respondent cannot be compared with other people who migrated for the same reason. The personal characteristics that were studied for the other two groups are:

- Current age;
- Time being in Morogoro;
- Gender;
- Years of education;
- Years of working experience.

For both the groups of respondents that migrated for family reasons or for economic reasons, it can be said that the older and longer someone is living in Morogoro, the more this person prefers to remain living in Morogoro. When someone is still young and lives in Morogoro for a short while, this person might feel the desire and see the possibility to return to the place of origin more than an older person. Clearly, someone who is living for a long time in Morogoro is more settled down and this way it becomes harder to leave the place.

However, when categorizing the two groups of respondents with regard to the time they are in Morogoro and the age of the respondents, there are some differences with regard to the satisfaction with life in general. From the respondents that migrated for economic reasons, the longer someone is living in Morogoro and the older they are, the more they are satisfied with life in general and with most domains of life. However, for the respondents that migrated for family reasons it is partly the other way around. In this group, when someone is older and lives a longer time in Morogoro, this person is less satisfied with life in general and only more satisfied with a few domains of life. When putting all respondents from all groups together and then categorize the respondents to age, no differences between age groups can be found.

Based on this study, no clear conclusions about an age effect on the satisfaction with life can be made. This is in line with the inconsistency in the findings about the effect of age on well-being as explained in Section 3.3. As Section 3.3 explains, some studies

found that younger people are happier than older people are, while other studies found no age effect or a positive correlation. The findings of this study are not in line with Rojas (2007) who developed the domains of life used in this study. Rojas (2007) found that the health, job and family domains of life declines with age, but that is not demonstrated in this study.

The next personal characteristic to discuss is gender. When categorizing all respondents to gender, no differences between male and female can be made. The male respondents who came for economic reasons to Morogoro do more feel the desire and see the possibility to return to the place of origin than the female respondents, while the male respondents who came for family reasons do not feel the desire to return but do prefer the place of origin more often than the female respondents. The male respondents who came for economic reasons are more often satisfied with life in general than the female respondents who came for economic reasons, and the male are also more satisfied with some domains of life. However, the male respondents who came for family reasons do not feel more or less satisfied with life in general than the female respondents who came for family reasons.

It can be concluded that there is also inconsistency in the findings about a gender effect on well-being between the groups. Overall, there is no difference in the answers males and females gave. This is in line with the mixed results that have been found on this topic of gender and well-being as shown in Section 3.3. Rojas (2007) found that men are more satisfied on several domains of life and this is similar to the results from the group of respondents who migrated for economic reasons. Overall, no differences between males and females have been found.

The personal characteristic of education was not possible to compare, as most respondents studied primary school for seven years and only a few studied more or less years. Because the groups of respondents who studied more or less than seven years were so small, it was not possible to compare this characteristic. According to Rojas (2007) education has a positive impact on almost all domains of life.

The last personal characteristic is that of work experience, more precise: years of work. All respondents become less willing to return to the place of origin when they work for a longer period. Also, the respondents that work already for a long time and who came to Morogoro for economic reasons are more satisfied with life in general and with specific domains of life than the respondents that work for a shorter period of time. For some respondents who came for family reasons this is the same, but some of these respondents who came for family reasons and who works a long time already are less satisfied with their life in general. Therefore, for the respondents who came for family reasons that is a mixed picture of people become either more or less satisfied with life. About all respondents it can be said that if someone works for a longer time already, this person is often more satisfied with the job he or she has than a person who works for a shorter period of time.

In general, it can be said that there are no big differences in the answers with regard to the influence of personal characteristics. This is similar to the conclusion Diener et al. (2003) make, as they say that the demographic factors only account for a small amount of variance in well-being.

## *5.7 Evaluation*

This chapter gives an overview of the answers given in the interviews. Based on the reasons to migrate, different groups of respondents are made. The first group migrated for economic reasons, which corresponds with most literature about rural-urban migration. This literature explains rural-urban migration being caused by job opportunities

and income in town. A second group of migrants migrated because of family circumstances. Finally, one respondent migrated to study more in town.

The reason named most by economic rural-urban migrants is looking for a better life. Other important reasons are that life in the place of origin is regarded as being hard, they hope to gain more income and they hope to find a job. The reasons that the respondents named who came for family reasons are mixed, namely to help an ill family member, to follow the husband or go and live with the husband, to live close to the family or to take more distance from the family.

Interestingly, although these migrants came to Morogoro for different reasons, there are not so many differences in their satisfaction with life or in their feelings related to the place of origin. This study also did not find big differences when the groups were categorized to certain personal characteristics. Although this research used a small qualitative research, the interviewing continued until no new information came up from the interviews any more. The importance of these personal characteristics therefore will not be underestimated much.

Most respondents do visit the place of origin about once to three times a year. Many of those respondents still think that it is possible to return to the place of origin. About half of the respondents sometimes also feel the desire to actually return, the other half prefer to stay in Morogoro, as that is the place they prefer.

Overall, the respondents are positive about their decision to migrate. The life of the respondents did improve due to their decision to migrate. Still, for some respondents migration did not change their situation as much as they expected.

Most respondents also do experience an increase in their satisfaction with life in general due to migration. However, although most people do experience an improvement in their satisfaction with life in general, still there are not so many people who are satisfied with their life in general. A large group of respondents is only a bit satisfied or dissatisfied. The amount of life satisfaction depends for many respondents on the amount of income they earn.

Although the satisfaction with life in general is not so positive for most respondents, still the satisfaction for the specific domains of life is positive. Most respondents are satisfied with their health. Fewer respondents are satisfied with their economic situation and their job, what might cause the low appreciation for life in general. Most respondents are satisfied with their family contact, as well as with their friendships. About half of the respondents are satisfied with the personal domain of life, just as with the community environment.



## Chapter 6 Conclusion and discussion

In this chapter, the conclusion and discussion will be outlined. In Section 6.1 the research questions will be answered. In Section 6.2 this research is put in a broader perspective. After this, in Section 6.3 the methodology used in this research will be discussed. Recommendations for future research will be made in Section 6.4. Finally, in Section 6.5, some recommendations will be made for migration policy in Tanzania.

### 6.1 The experiences of rural-to-urban migrants in Morogoro

The basis of this study is the question: what are the experiences of a rural-to-urban migrant in Morogoro with regard to his or her reasons to migrate? To get a better idea about these experiences, several research questions have been developed. These will be answered in this section. Section 6.1.1 describes which reasons people have to migrate from the rural area to Morogoro. Section 6.1.2 evaluates which labour migration theories are important in explaining why people move from the rural area to Morogoro. Section 6.1.3 describes how the migrants currently evaluate their original reasons to migrate. Section 6.1.4 shows how the decision to migrate changes the satisfaction with life in general and with the specific domains of life. In Section 6.1.5 the reasons why migrants remain in Morogoro and why migrants sometimes might feel the desire to return to the place of origin will be discussed. In Section 6.1.6 more attention is paid to the relationship between the initial reasons to migrate and the current reasons to stay in Morogoro. Finally, in Section 6.1.7 the overall research question about the experiences of a rural-to-urban migrant in Morogoro will be discussed.

#### 6.1.1 Reasons for people to migrate from the rural area to Morogoro

Most theories about rural-to-urban migration focus on economic reasons for people to migrate. However, it might be possible that other reasons are also important in the decision to migrate, which are left out in the migration theories. This study tested whether there are more reasons why people migrate, other than economic reasons.

This research shows that indeed the economic reasons to migrate are most important. Many respondents (17 out of 25) make their decision to migrate primarily based on economic reasons. The most important economic reason mentioned by the respondents is looking for “maisha”, a better life. This better life is a broad concept, which can mean different things for different respondents. Things like finding a job, earning more income and escaping from the hardship of life in the rural area are for most respondents’ part of the concept of a better life. Therefore, it can be concluded that economic reasons are an important part of the decision to migrate for many people.

Next to the economic reasons to migrate, two other reasons were named in this research. Some respondents (7 out of 25) migrated due to family circumstances. There are different reasons why someone migrates for family circumstances, namely following a partner or getting married, taking care of an ill family member, moving closer to the family or moving away from the family to become independent. A last reason to migrate, in this research just mentioned once, is gaining a higher level of education.

It can be concluded that many people migrate from the rural area to Morogoro for economic reasons, but also family circumstances or study can be reason to migrate to a city like Morogoro.

### 6.1.2 Labour migration theories and their explanatory power

As explained in Section 6.1.1, seventeen respondents migrated for economic reasons. The question remains how relevant the labour migration theories are in explaining why these migrants with economic reasons move from the place of origin to Morogoro. There is not one exclusive theory that can explain the motivation of all migrants who moved for economic reasons. However, some theories are more relevant than others. This section will therefore discuss the theories in order of relevance.

The theory of social capital, which emphasizes that having a social network lowers the costs of migration and improves the returns to migration, is highly relevant in this research. Most of the labour migration respondents (14 out of 17) have family who migrated before they migrated themselves, of whom more than half also migrated to Morogoro. When looking to the broader social network, most respondents (14 out of 17) knew people living in Morogoro before they migrated. The people they knew are mainly family and friends, but sometimes also others like classmates or people from the same tribe. Often, the family and friends helped the migrant by giving accommodation or helping to find a job. Therefore, having family members or friends in the place of destination makes it easier to migrate and the social network indeed helps the migrants.

There are a few respondents (3 out of 17) who migrated without knowing someone living in Morogoro. Therefore, the theory of social capital does not explain the migration of all respondents. On the other hand, to create a social network with migrants, some people should be the first to migrate to a certain place.

The push-pull model of migration of Lee (1966) is highly relevant as well. This model explains that there are push factors associated with the place of origin and pull factors associated with the place of destination, which together might make someone decide to migrate. However, this model did not give concrete push and pull factors, as the model explains that the set of positive and negative factors can differ per person. The push factors that were often mentioned in this research are the hardship of life in the rural area as well as the lack of an earning industry in the rural area. The pull factors are the idea of a better life in the urban area, the chance of getting a better job and more income but also that Morogoro is seen as a nice place. Overall, many of the respondents who migrated for economic reasons (11 respondents out of 17 mentioned the hardship of life in the rural, 15 respondents out of 17 mentioned the idea of a better life in the urban area) did migrate because of these push and pull factors. This model also distinguishes intervening obstacles and personal factors. For migration from the rural area to a city within the same country, there mostly are no intervening obstacles like physical barriers and immigration laws. However, also personal factors like intelligence, awareness of conditions elsewhere and personality are mentioned. This study did not research how much these personal factors are influencing the process, but a factor such as awareness of conditions might be of importance, as most of the migrants already knew other people that were living in Morogoro.

The push-pull model emphasizes that migrants have more knowledge about the place of origin than about the place of destination. Migrants know the hardship of life in the rural area but sometimes idealize the better life in the urban area too much. However, Lee (1966) also emphasizes that the place of origin often receives an over evaluation of the positive elements because a migrant is attached to his or her place of origin. This positive over evaluation does not fit with the results from this research. In this study, several respondents who migrated for economic reasons (11 out of 17) explained they left because of the hardship of life in the rural area, and therefore they mainly see the negative aspects of the place of origin. However, this study focuses on people that did migrate and not on the people who decided not to migrate. For people who decide not to migrate, the positive elements of the place of origin might be more important than the

negative elements of the place of origin. For the people that did decide to migrate, the over evaluation of the positive elements in the place of origin was not important enough to overcome the negative elements in the place of origin and the positive elements in the place of destination. What can be concluded is that the overall idea of this model does fit with the reasons mentioned by many of the respondents who migrated for economic reasons.

The theory of human capital is relevant in explaining who migrates to Morogoro. This theory emphasizes that personal characteristics, such as the level of education, gender and age, are important in the decision to migrate. However, this research did not study all variables that might be important and did not quantify variables, so no definitive conclusion can be made about this. Still, the research shows that the labour migrants are mostly males (13 out of 17). Moreover, the respondents who migrated for economic reasons often migrated at a young age, namely between eighteen and twenty-six years old (12 out of 17). There was not one respondent, who migrated for economic reasons, older than thirty at the time of migration.

Therefore, the idea of Byerlee (1974), that the psychic costs of migration for a younger person are lower and that therefore mainly young people migrate to town, is very plausible. It is demonstrated that personal characteristics like age, the basic idea of the human capital theory, indeed do influence the decision to migrate.

The (neo-)classical model of Todaro is partly relevant. This theory is built on the idea that migration depends on the existing rural-urban wage difference and the probability of getting a job in the city. Most respondents who migrated for economic reasons (12 out of 17), did expect to get a higher income. Therefore, this wage difference indeed is important. However, only some respondents (6 out of 17) arranged a job before they migrated. Some others (5 out of 17) thought they would get help from the family with finding a job, while the rest of the respondents (6 out of 17) had no idea how to get a job in town. In addition, only some respondents (6 out of 17) visited Morogoro before, while most respondents (9 out of 17) only had information about Morogoro from second hand, from their family, friends or others who already lived in there.

What can be concluded is that the idea of an expected income maximization is important for most migrants. However, many respondents just take a gamble by coming to town in the hope they will find a job and not all respondents thought about the probability of getting a job. Moreover, what makes this theory less relevant is the assumption of a "periodic random job selection process" (Harris & Todaro, 1970, p. 127), in which it is assumed that the job allocation follows a simple lottery mechanism. This is not the case for all migrants, as several migrants (9 out of 17) got a job due to the help of family or friends. Therefore, the basic idea of the influence of the expected wage differential on the decision to migrate is confirmed, but the whole theory is a bit less relevant than the theories discussed before as some aspects of the theory are not confirmed.

The theory of the new economics of labour migration is of least relevance in this research. This theory explains that the individual migrant is not the decision-making unit, but the household is. This household can decide that one member has to migrate to increase the household income and to minimize the risks. However, in this research most respondents (15 out of 17) individually decided to migrate. Therefore, the household income maximization as well as the risk minimizing decision are unimportant, as the migrants do not make the decision together with the household.

The new economics of labour migration theory also emphasizes the importance of market failure on the decision to migrate, as it increases the risks for the household or an individual. Market failure is not studied in all its aspects in this research. However, the aspect of getting a loan or insurance is investigated. About half of the respondents (8 out

of 17) said this was a factor in their decision to migrate. Therefore, for some respondents market failure might be important in the decision to migrate.

Another variable of the theory of the new economics of labour migration is relative deprivation, which means that the amount of income in comparison with a reference group might make someone to decide to migrate. For some respondents (7 out of 17) this was important as they did compare their income with others. However, Stark and Taylor (1991) emphasizes that relative deprivation might not be important in the decision of intra-national migration, as the reference group might change due to migration. This research confirms that the reference group changes with intra-national migration. All respondents who compare their income with others do compare their income with people of the same profession. However, for these respondents relative deprivation was important in their decision to migrate, so it might be possible one does not realize the reference group might change due to migration. Therefore, the aspect of relative deprivation might be more important for some respondents than is emphasized in this theory. Overall, it can be concluded that the new economics of labour migration does not explain why the respondents migrated from the rural area to Morogoro, although a few variables of this theory are important for some respondents.

It can be concluded that there are several labour migration theories that have explanatory power. However, some theories have more explanatory power than others do. The social capital theory and the push-pull model of migration best explain the process of economic migration of the respondents from this study. The human capital theory might also be important, but this study did not focus on all aspects of that theory and therefore no conclusion can be made. The (neo-)classical model of Todaro also has explanatory power, but not all aspects of this model fit with the reality of the migrants in Morogoro. The new economics of labour migration has low explanatory power.

#### 6.1.3 Current evaluation by migrants of their original reasons to migrate

Almost all respondents (23 out of 25) are positive about their decision to migrate to Morogoro. Some respondents who migrated for economic reasons (7 out of 17) explain they got more income. However, some respondents (5 out of 25) are not as happy as they expected to be before they migrated. Their situation did not change as much as they hoped for. Still, also these respondents are positive about their decision to migrate.

To conclude, most respondents currently evaluate their original reasons to migrate positively, as they have a better life due to migration. At the same time, these respondents still have many plans for the future, as some would like to start a family, to own a house and get a car, to get a better life or to change jobs. Some would like to expand a business, to become self-employed or to follow more education. Only a few are a bit afraid to make plans for the future.

#### 6.1.4 The relationship between the decision to migrate and the satisfaction with life

The previous section demonstrated that most respondents are positive about their decision to migrate to Morogoro. This is in line with the positive change in the satisfaction with life in general that the respondents experience due to migration. Almost all respondents (21 out of 25) say their satisfaction with life in general improved after migration to Morogoro. Some respondents (6 out of 25) explain this increase in their satisfaction with life in general because they earn more income in Morogoro and because their life in the rural area was harder than in Morogoro.

However, although the satisfaction with life improved, still many respondents are not (10 out of 25) or only a bit (8 out of 25) satisfied with life in general. Some



respondents explain this by saying that they are still hoping for a better life (5 out of 25) or they did not succeed in their plans yet (5 out of 25). Only some respondents (7 out of 25) say they are satisfied with life in general. The reason why these respondents are satisfied is mainly because they earn enough money to foresee in their basic needs. Therefore, it can be concluded that their satisfaction with life in general did improve but that for many respondents it did not improve as much as they hoped for.

Most respondents have a high level of satisfaction with the specific domains of life. Almost all respondents (21 out of 25) are satisfied with their health. Many respondents (19 out of 25) are satisfied with the family domain of life and several respondents (16 out of 25) are satisfied with the friendship domain of life. With the personal domain and the community environment domain of life a bit less respondents (respectively 14 out of 25 and 12 out of 25) are satisfied; some respondents (9 out of 25) still prefer the place of origin. The economic and the job domains score less high, only some respondents (10 out of 25) are satisfied with these specific domains of life.

Several respondents also experience improvement in the satisfaction with the specific domains of life due to migration. However, fewer respondents experience an improvement in the satisfaction in the specific domains of life (maximum 17 out of 25) than the respondents who experience an increase in their satisfaction with life in general (21 out of 25). Still, several respondents experience a positive change in their economic satisfaction (17 out of 25) and in the community environment satisfaction (14 out of 25). For the health domain there are some mixed results, as about the same amount of respondents experience an improvement in their satisfaction with their health (10 out of 17) as the amount of respondents who experience no change in their satisfaction with their health (9 out of 17). The same counts for the friendship domain, in which several respondents (10 out of 17) experience an improvement in the satisfaction with their friendships, while other respondents (8 out of 17) experience a decrease in the satisfaction with their friendships. Several respondents experience no change in the satisfaction in the contact with their family (16 out of 25). The personal satisfaction reduced due to migration for several respondents (9 out of 25).

It can be concluded that overall, the respondents are satisfied with the specific domains of life, but less satisfied with life in general. Although most respondents are not very satisfied with their life in general, the respondents still experience an improvement in their satisfaction with life in general after migration to Morogoro. Interestingly, the satisfaction with life in general improved for most respondents due to migration, while the respondents experience less improvement in the satisfaction with the specific domains of life. However, for an improvement in the satisfaction with life in general, it might be enough when the satisfaction with just one specific domain of life improved due to migration. This makes it possible that the satisfaction with life in general improved more than the satisfaction of the specific domains of life.

The lower satisfaction with life in general in comparison with the higher satisfaction with the specific domains of life might be explained by the idea that some specific domains of life have a stronger influence on life satisfaction than other domains, just as van Praag et al. (2003) and Rojas (2007) demonstrated. In this research, the respondents are least satisfied with the economic and the job domains of life. These two specific domains of life might be most important for the satisfaction with life in general, as several respondents also explained that they were or were not satisfied with life in general because of their economic situation and their job. This is similar to the outcomes of van Praag et al (2003), which demonstrated that finance, health and job satisfaction are most important. However, this research used the domains of life developed by Rojas (2007), but according to Rojas (2007) the family domain is fundamental for life satisfaction, and after that the economic and personal domains of life, while the job domain together with the health domain are less important and the friendship and

community domains are least related to general life satisfaction. This does not fit with the findings of this research. However, Rojas (2007) also emphasizes that the general life satisfaction can best be improved by improving the satisfaction of the domain with the lowest level of satisfaction. In that case, the job and economic domains of life explains the low level of life satisfaction.

It can be concluded that the decision to migrate did improve the satisfaction with life in general of the migrants. However, still several respondents (10 out of 25) are not yet satisfied with their life in general. The reason of this might be because several respondents are not so much satisfied with the economic and job domain of life (respectively 7 out of 25 and 9 out of 25). This also matches with the explanations given by the respondents that they are, or are not, satisfied with their life in general because of the amount of income they earn. This implies that this economic domain is very important in the life of both people living in the rural area but also of migrants living in the city. It is important to realize that these results do not differ between the groups that migrated for different reasons. Only the economic migrants are a bit more often negative about the changes in the satisfaction with the specific domains of life. This might be explained as these migrants might had higher expectations about their possibilities for economic improvement, than the respondents who came for study or for family circumstances.

#### 6.1.5 Reasons for rural migrants to remain in Morogoro or to consider returning to the place of origin

The previous sections demonstrated that the respondents are happy with their decision to migrate to Morogoro. This raises another question: is the place of origin still important for these migrants? Do they still see a possibility to return? In addition, do they want to return?

This research showed that most migrants (22 out of 25) visit the place of origin regularly, only a few respondents (3 out of 25) do not visit the place of origin any more. As many respondents regularly visit the place of origin, a large group of respondents (15 out of 25) also still sees the possibility to return.

About half of all respondents (12 out of 25) sometimes feel the desire to return, while the other half of the respondents (13 out of 25) do not feel the desire to return to the place of origin. Several respondents (9 out of 25) prefer the place of origin, while about half of the respondents (12 out of 25) want to stay in Morogoro. Therefore, it can be concluded that some respondents do consider returning to the place of origin, while some respondents prefer to remain living in Morogoro.

The reason why the respondents remain living in Morogoro is often economic. They have a job in Morogoro and they earn a proper income. Many respondents only will move back to the place of origin after they have become successful in Morogoro, when they earned enough money or when they are able to earn a proper income in the place of origin. However, there are still more reasons for the respondents to remain in Morogoro. Image is important for several respondents (5 out of 25), as these respondents only want to return after they have become successful in Morogoro. These respondents do not want to show to their family at home that they are not successful in town and therefore they keep the image of a better life in town alive. In addition, some respondents (7 out of 25) appreciate the life that they started in Morogoro. They do not want to start again building up a life in the place of origin.

The reason why some respondents (9 out of 25) consider returning to the place of origin is because it is their home and they want to live close to their family again.

What can be concluded is that the reason for rural migrants to remain living in Morogoro is often economic. The reason why some migrants consider returning to the

place of origin is because some respondents miss their family and they would like to go home.

#### 6.1.6 The relationship between the initial reasons to migrate and the current reasons to stay in Morogoro

Section 6.1.1 and 6.1.5 showed the reasons why a respondent decided to migrate to Morogoro and why a respondent remains living in Morogoro. A link between these two reasons can be made.

A large group of respondents (17 out of 25) migrated to Morogoro for economic reasons; they were looking for a better life. Often, it are also economic reasons that make these respondents remain living in Morogoro. It can be concluded that the economic situation of someone is very important in the decisions one makes in life. After all, to be able to have a proper life, one needs money. This search for money makes someone to decide to migrate, but also to remain living somewhere where one can earn an income.

Next to this economic reason, there are also respondents who migrated for family circumstances (7 out of 25). Some of these respondents (4 out of 7) consider returning to the place of origin, as it is their home and most of their family lives there. However, it is also family that motivates the other respondents (3 out of 7) to remain living in Morogoro, as their family lives in Morogoro. Therefore it can be concluded that some of the respondents, who migrated for family reasons, also remain living in Morogoro for family reasons. At the same time, family can also be a reason for these respondents to consider returning to the place of origin.

Finally, one respondent migrated to study in Morogoro. This respondent explains that she wants to remain living in Morogoro as she started her life in Morogoro. Therefore, although she came for her study, she wants to remain living in Morogoro for another reason, namely that she started her life there.

To conclude, there is a relationship between the initial reasons to migrate and the current reasons to stay in Morogoro. Several respondents who migrated for economic reasons to Morogoro remain living there for the same reasons. In addition, some respondents who migrated for family reasons remain living in Morogoro for the same reasons. However, this conclusion cannot be made for all respondents, as some remain living in Morogoro for other reasons than why they came to Morogoro.

#### 6.1.7 The experiences of rural-to-urban migrants in Morogoro with regard to their reasons to migrate

It can be concluded that migration occurs as people are looking for “maisha”, a better life. People hope to earn more income, to improve their living situation, to help their family or to improve themselves. Many respondents came from the rural area to Morogoro because of economic reasons. Life in the rural area is hard, and therefore they decided to look for a better life, a proper job and more income in town. In addition, some respondents migrate from the rural area to town due to family circumstances or study reasons.

The migrants who came for economic reasons often already knew some people living in Morogoro before they migrated, which can help them after migration. Therefore, the theory of social capital is highly relevant for these respondents. Also the push-pull model can explain a lot, as hardship of life in the rural area is pushing them away from the rural area, while the better life is pulling them towards the city. The respondents are young and often male, which is explained by the human capital theory, as the psychic costs of migration is lower for these people.

When people decide to migrate, they hope their situation will improve. Almost all respondents are positive about their decision to migrate. They experience a higher level of satisfaction with life in general, as well as more satisfaction on specific domains of life. However, only a few respondents are satisfied with their life in general. Their life satisfaction did improve due to migration, but still not enough to be satisfied with their life in general. This is mainly due to the economic and job domain of life, as several respondents are not so satisfied with these specific domains of life. Many respondents explained they receive more income in Morogoro than in the rural area, but still it is not enough for their basic needs.

Although these respondents still would love to earn more money, many respondents realize they earn more income than they could if they would still live in the rural area. Therefore, several respondents remain living in Morogoro for economic reasons. However, also other reasons can play a role in remaining living in Morogoro. Image plays a role for some respondents, as these respondents only want to return to the place of origin after they have become successful in life. In addition, some respondents regard Morogoro as their new home.

Although all respondents have their reasons to remain living in Morogoro, several respondents would still like to go back to the place of origin to live there again. The main reason for this is that the place of origin is still their hometown where their family lives.

For most migrants the economic situation is most important in the decision where to live and also where to remain living. Besides this, family also plays an important role, as some migrants moved due to family circumstances or want to return to the place of origin for family reasons.

## *6.2 This research in a broader perspective*

In this section, the results of this research about rural-to-urban migration in Morogoro will be put into a broader perspective. In Section 6.2.1, it will be discussed how the findings of this study could be generalized. In Section 6.2.2, a comparison is made between the conclusions of this study and other studies about the explanatory power of the labour migration theories. Finally, in Section 6.2.3, a comparison is made between the conclusions of this study and other studies about migration and well-being.

### 6.2.1 Generalization of the conclusions of this research

This research is a case study into why people living in the rural area decide to migrate to Morogoro. The respondents, who decided to move to Morogoro to find a better life, more income, a job, to study or for family circumstances, might even well decide to migrate to another town for the same reasons. For many respondents, the reason why they decided to move to Morogoro specifically is that they knew people living in Morogoro and thought those people could help them. If they would have had family or friends living in other places, they might have decided to move to that other place.

Moreover, in Tanzania all the inhabitants speak Swahili and perceive themselves as Tanzanian and less as a member of a specific tribe, as it occurs in some other Sub-Saharan African countries. Therefore, there do not exist any boundary, such as a language boundary, what makes someone would decide to move to Morogoro but not to any other city within Tanzania. This is also shown in this research as while many respondents came from Morogoro region or from a neighbouring region, also several respondents came from other parts of Tanzania, such as the Kilimanjaro area.

As the respondents of this research came originally from various parts of Tanzania, this might be a good representation of migrants from the rural area in

Tanzania. Moreover, as the main reason to come to Morogoro in specific is based on social networks and contacts in Morogoro, a migrant could decide to migrate to another city if they know people in that city instead of in Morogoro. Therefore, this research might be generalized to other similar medium large cities within Tanzania.

#### 6.2.2 A comparison between this research and other studies about the explanatory power of labour migration theories

How does this case study on migrants in Morogoro compare with other similar case studies? Massey and Espinosa (1997) evaluated migration theories using a case of migration from Mexico to the U.S. Although the study of Massey and Espinosa (1997) focuses on international migration, it evaluates many of the theories that are also used in this research on migrants in Morogoro as these theories can be used to explain both international and intra-national migration. Their results were that the (neo-)classical economic theory had minor explanatory power, as the expected wage was not a major factor in the migration decision. The human capital theory had good explanatory power, as well as the new economics of migration theory and the social capital theory. The push-pull model was not studied. Another study, of Bohra and Massey (2009), which focussed on both the intra-national and the international migration in Nepal, also evaluated several migration theories. In their study they found strong support for the human capital theory, as well as the new economics of migration and the social capital theory. The Todaro model and the push-pull model were not studied.

Just as in the studies mentioned above, in this research on migrants in Morogoro there is a strong support for the social capital theory. In addition, the theory of human capital is supported in this research on migrants in Morogoro. In contradiction with the earlier findings of Massey and Espinosa (1997) and Bohra and Massey (2009), in this research on migrants in Morogoro the new economic of labour migration theory had minor explanatory power. In this research on migrants in Morogoro, the (neo-)classical model of Todaro has a bit less explanatory power than some other migration theories, just as in the study by Massey and Espinosa (1997). However, the basic idea of this theory, the expected wage differential causing people to migrate, is confirmed in this study on migrants in Morogoro. An addition to the other studies is that in this study on migrants in Morogoro also the push-pull model is researched and is supported by the findings of this research on migrants in Morogoro.

What can be concluded is that in all studies several theories are related with the case studies. As there are many different aspects in the decision to migrate, it is difficult to treat all these aspects in one theory. Therefore, it is good to realize more than one theory can help understanding the decision to migrate for economic reasons. All the different aspects in the decision to migrate have to be taken into account. Also, the people that migrate do this not only for economic reasons, some also decide to migrate for family circumstances or further studying. All this would be difficult to fit within one theory, but more attempts could be made.

#### 6.2.2 A comparison between this research and other studies about migration and well-being

As mentioned before, little research has been done concerning the effect of migration on the level of well-being. No study has been found executed in Africa, but there are other studies executed in other parts of the world. One is done by de Jong et al. (2002) about the level of subjective well-being for Thai migrants. In the study of de Jong et al. (2002), a low percentage of the migrants were facing an increased level of subjective well-being. Moreover, recent migration was associated with decreased life

satisfaction outcome (De Jong et al., 2002). Hagen-Zanker and Azzarri (2009) researched the impact of intra-national migration on well-being in Albania. According to the study of Hagen-Zanker and Azzarri (2009), migrated households experience that their life has improved, as well as they experience an increase in their financial status. However, their decision to migrate has a negative impact on their housing. Hagen-Zanker and Azzarri (2009) conclude that most well-being indicators used in their study score negative for the migrants, only in terms of income there is an increase in well-being. Knight and Gunatilaka (2008) examined the subjective well-being of migrants in China. According to the study of Knight and Gunatilaka (2008), migrants face a lower mean happiness compared to rural people who did not migrate, despite they are earning a higher mean income in the city. Knight and Gunatilaka (2008) explain this because the migrants feel themselves relatively deprived compared to other urban residents. Finally, Nielsen et al. (2010) focussed also on migrants in China. The study of Nielsen et al. (2010) showed a lower quality of life for migrants, originally from the rural area, than for urban residents. Nielsen et al. (2010) showed that the decision to migrate can be positive for some specific domains of life, but has a negative impact on other domains of life.

The findings of this research on migrants in Morogoro differ from most studies discussed here. De Jong et al. (2002) found a low percentage of migrants who experienced an increased level of subjective well-being, while this research on migrants in Morogoro showed most migrants experience an improvement in their well-being, although not all migrants are satisfied with their life in general. However, de Jong et al. (2002) especially found a decrease in life satisfaction in the first two years after migration. In this research on migrants in Morogoro, most migrants were already living in Morogoro for several years, which can explain that this negative effect in the first two years after migration is not found. It might also be the case that the respondents of the study of de Jong et al. (2002) had different reasons or expectations about their life after migration, which can explain a lower satisfaction. But also the situation in the rural and in the urban area in Thailand may be different compared to Tanzania, and therefore it is possible the migrants in Thailand do not experience so much of an increase as the migrants in Tanzania do.

The situation of migrants from the study of Hagen-Zanker and Azzarri (2009) is different from the situation of the migrants in Tanzania. In this research on migrants in Morogoro, the housing situation of the migrants did improve, as well as several other well-being indicators. The migrants in Tanzania were also better off in terms of income, but also other domains of life and their life in general did improve due to migration. Just as with the research of de Jong et al. (2002), the results from these studies might differ as they are all executed on different continents of the world, which might make the situation difficult to compare.

The two studies executed in China showed a lower level of satisfaction with life for the migrants compared to non-migrants. These two studies both compare migrants with non-migrants, while this research on migrants in Morogoro only focussed on the satisfaction with life of migrants. It might be possible that although these migrants experience an increase in life satisfaction, people who did not migrate still experience a higher level of satisfaction. This cannot be concluded from this research on migrants in Morogoro, so future research should confirm if this is the case.

What can be concluded is that the migrants interviewed for this study on migrants in Morogoro do experience more often an increase in their satisfaction with life in general, while this is not demonstrated in other studies at other continents. In line with the other studies is that several respondents are still dissatisfied with life in general and sometimes with some specific domains of life as well.

### *6.3 Evaluation and limitations of the field research*

Overall, it can be said this study gives a lot of information about migrants in Morogoro. There are several aspects in the used methodology that lead to a better understanding of the situation of the migrants. Although it was attempted to avoid biases, there are still some limitations to this research. In this section, these limitations will be discussed.

Section 6.3.1 outlines the positive aspects of the methodology used in this study. Section 6.3.2 will discuss the limitations of the focus on rural-to-urban migrants in Morogoro. In Section 6.3.3, the limitations of the sample selection will be discussed. Finally, in Section 6.3.4, some limitations of the interviewing technique will be outlined.

#### 6.3.1 Positive aspects of the methodology

This research on rural-to-urban migrants in Morogoro showed that there are more reasons to migrate than just economic reasons. Also several respondents migrated for family circumstances, and one respondent for further studying. This finding was possibly due to the open-ended questions about why a migrant decides to migrate. By just asking their reasons to migrate without offering any prepared answer, the migrants were not steered to a specific direction. After they explained their own reasons, several questions have been asked to check specific aspects to the decision to migrate, based on the existing migration theories. This made it possible to get an overall picture of the decision to migrate, based on the reasons of the migrant him- or herself and supplemented with the important aspects of the different migration theories. Therefore, it can be concluded that this way of starting with open-ended questions and continuing with more closed questions is a good way to get to know the whole situation.

Next to that, within the interview first some time was taken for less personal questions before more personal questions were asked. This is done to give the respondent time to start to know and trust the interviewer, so that the respondent would answer the personal questions openly. Next to that, by first asking to the situation the migrant was in before migration, the respondent will be able to remember the situation better and therefore answer the important questions about the reasons to migrate more accurate.

It was asked in Chapter 3 whether subjective well-being would be just as important for people in Sub-Saharan Africa as it is for Western people. This is because almost no research has been done about this topic in Sub-Saharan Africa. However, the respondents of this study were very well able to answer questions about how satisfied they were with life. Therefore, it can be concluded that satisfaction with life in general and with several specific domains of life is just as important for people in Sub-Saharan Africa as it is elsewhere. However, the most important domains of life can differ from the Western people among whom most well-being research has been done.

#### 6.3.2 Limitations due to the focus on rural-to-urban migrants living in Morogoro

For this research, rural-to-urban migrants living in Morogoro have been interviewed. This gave a lot of information about the experiences of a rural-to-urban migrant in Morogoro. More information could have been collected if also rural-to-urban migrants would have been interviewed who after a while returned to live in the place of origin again or who moved to other places after they lived in Morogoro. This might bring more information about the difficulties after migration. The migrants who are still living in Morogoro will probably evaluate their live in Morogoro more positively than the migrants who left Morogoro after a while. However, migrants could also like their life in Morogoro

but still decide to leave Morogoro again due to other reasons. To get to know the reasons why these migrants decided to leave Morogoro could give more information about the experiences of a rural-urban migrant in Tanzania.

Although interviewing migrants who returned to the place of origin or who moved to other places could give more information, the interviews with migrants living in Morogoro already gave many insights in the decision process to migrate and the current experiences of a rural-to-urban migrant. This research added a lot of information to the current knowledge about migration and therefore it is valuable for the better understanding about migration. Still, future research could focus more on this other group of migrants who returned to the place of origin or who moved to other places after their migration to Morogoro. This will be discussed in further detail in Section 6.4.1.

### 6.3.3 Limitations of the sample selection

During the process of interviewing the rural-to-urban migrants in Morogoro, it was tried to interview different people with different life stories and personal characteristics by walking around in different neighbourhoods in town. This gave a varied sample in terms of age, time living in Morogoro, gender and marital status. However, some limitations in the sample of this research exist.

As explained in Section 4.3, all interviews have been executed during daytime. However, as people are working during daytime, there might be an underrepresentation of people with some professions and an overrepresentation of people with other professions. Several people who wanted to participate in the research worked on the market or in a shop. These people are all day long in their shop waiting for their customers and they have plenty of time when there is no customer. Therefore, many of the people who participated in this research worked on the market or in a shop. This might cause an overrepresentation of people working on the market or in a shop and an underrepresentation of for example taxi drivers and people working in offices.

Although there is an overrepresentation of people working on the market, this may not influence the results much. For most respondents jobs are interchangeable. Most people look for any job when they come to Morogoro, which means that if there is the possibility to become a taxi driver they will take that chance and if they get the possibility of becoming a businessperson they will do that. Therefore, the life stories of a taxi driver will probably not differ much from the life stories of a person who works on the market. Still, in future research it can be tried to find respondents with other occupations. More attention will be paid to this in Section 6.4.3.

Next to the overrepresentation of people working on the market or in a shop, there are no unemployed respondents; only one respondent was retired and some respondents were housewives. On the other hand, in Tanzania there is almost no one who does not have a job at all. People do not receive support of the government if they are unemployed, therefore an unemployed person is often a burden for the family. Most people do not want to be a burden for their family and thus they need to find some way to earn a living for themselves. Therefore, real unemployment will not be seen often in Tanzania, but what is occurring is that people have simple jobs for which they are too highly educated or which they actually do not like. This group of people is also included in this research as several respondents have simple or small jobs and several respondents would like to get a better job. However, further research might still try to find the few people who are unemployed in the city. This will be discussed in Section 6.4.1.

Finally, there might be an overrepresentation of lower educated people, as in this research most people only finished primary school. However, this large presence of low educated people is possibly due to the fact that in many rural areas there is no secondary school. Therefore, people must already leave the rural area at a young age to



take secondary education. This makes that most of the highly educated people do not fit within the definition of a migrant used in this study: being an adult who was old enough to decide oneself to migrate.

#### 6.3.4 Limitations of the interviewing technique

The used interviewing technique and set up of the interview also has its limitations. In the interviews, the demographic information is asked mainly regarding the current life of the migrant. More information about the life of the migrant at the time he or she decided to migrate could lead to a better understanding of the human capital theory, as this theory put emphasis on the importance of personal characteristics in the decision to migrate. The limited demographic information that is asked about the time of migration supports the human capital theory. Therefore, it is concluded the theory of human capital is important in explaining who will move. However, more research to this theory is still needed. Section 6.4.4 will discuss this in further detail.

Related to the interviewing technique is the risk that respondents give social desirable answers. In this research, many respondents say their satisfaction with life in general did improve. This experienced improvement is a subjective satisfaction with life in general. The risk is that the respondents gave a more positive picture about their situation than is the case in reality. People might feel ashamed telling they are not happy with their decision to migrate or to say they are dissatisfied with life in general. In that case, their answer might not reflect their true feelings. However, although they reported improved life satisfaction, many respondents answered they were not or only a bit satisfied with life in general. Only a few respondents answered they are satisfied with life in general. If the respondents would give a social desirable answer to this question, it could be expected that they would say they are satisfied with their life in general, as they do not want to show their unhappiness. As this question might be one of the most personal and sensitive questions for the respondents, upon which they did not give a social desirable answer, it can be assumed that they also did not give social desirable answers to other questions.

Another problem is that the respondents might not know the exact reasons to migrate any more because they migrated a long time ago. Some migrants already were living in Morogoro for more than ten years. When someone lives there already for such a long time, it is possible they do not exactly remember their reasons to migrate any more. They might also answer the question about their reasons to migrate with reasons they think are important at this moment, but that were not important at the time they migrated. This cannot be checked. Some suggestions to avoid this will be made in Section 6.4.3. However, also the current view about the reasons to migrate still shows what is important for that migrant, maybe not at the time of migration but definitely concerning the current life.

Another point that can be made is that the level of satisfaction with life in general and the change in satisfaction with life in general and with specific domains of life is only measured in a subjective manner. The respondents explain whether they experience a change and how satisfied they are. One might feel that their satisfaction with life in general is improved, but it could be possible that objective their situation did not improve. For example, someone can say his health is good, which is a subjective answer. It also can be objectively measured by looking to the blood pressure among other things. However, it is more important that the respondents experience a change than whether the situation really did change. If these respondents answer they experience that their satisfaction with life in general is improved, this personal experience is their own reality, as reality is coloured by our own experiences. Therefore, if someone experiences an improvement in the satisfaction with life in general, for this person life did improve.

However, it is still possible to measure the improvement in the satisfaction with life in general in another way, and this will be discussed in Section 6.4.3.

Finally, the specific domains of life are tested in this study with just one variable. However, there might be several variables that could influence a specific domain of life. For example, for the personal domain the focus of this study is on leisure time and activities. However, the personal domain might be influenced by more than just the appreciation of leisure time and activities. Therefore, there might be variables which influence the domains of life and are not taken into account in this study. This should be researched in more detail, which will be further discussed in Section 6.4.4.

## *6.4 Suggestions for future research*

With this study, more understanding about the migration process in Tanzania is created. However, as also shown in Section 6.3, there are still some questions left unanswered. Therefore, further research is required to improve the understanding about the migration process even more. In this section, some suggestions for further research are discussed.

In Section 6.4.1, some suggestions will be made for further research on other groups of people. In Section 6.4.2, suggestions for further quantitative research will be discussed. Section 6.4.3 offers some suggestions for further research related to the execution of the interviews. Finally, in Section 6.4.4, suggestions for further research related to the content of the interviews will be discussed.

### 6.4.1 Suggestions for further research related to other rural-urban migrants

This research gave a lot of information about rural migrants living in Morogoro. However, more people can give information about rural-to-urban migration in Morogoro. As explained in Section 6.3.2 more insight in the experiences of rural-to-urban migrants in Tanzania could be created by interviewing migrants who migrated to Morogoro but who after a while decided to leave Morogoro again to live in another place or to return to the place of origin. Therefore, some suggestions will be made to research this other group of people.

An attempt should be made to find people in other places who have lived in Morogoro before. This can be done by asking migrants in Morogoro whether they know other migrants who left Morogoro again and to give information about their current address. These people could be contacted and asked to participate in the research. A same kind of interview could be executed with these people, in which they are asked why they migrated to Morogoro and how it changed their satisfaction with life in general. But more importantly, these people can be asked why they returned to the place of origin or why they left Morogoro to live in another place. Their explanation of their decision to leave Morogoro could give more information about the experiences of a rural-to-urban migrant living in a town like Morogoro. Finally, it could be asked whether they are now more satisfied with their life than during the time they were living in Morogoro, as this also could give more insight in the experiences of well-being of a migrant.

Another group of people that could give more information about the experiences of a rural-urban migrant is the unemployed in the city. In Section 6.3.3 it is already discussed that only few people are real unemployed, as most people will try to work even if it is just a small job. However, not everyone may be able to find such a job and therefore some unemployed will probably be living in the city. For future research it would be interesting to find these unemployed migrants.

#### 6.4.2 Suggestions for further quantitative research

This research was a qualitative, small-scale research in which twenty-five respondents have been interviewed. This qualitative research demonstrated that other reasons than economic reasons can play a role when people decide to migrate. As people not only migrate for economic reasons but also for family reasons and study, deeper research can be done to this set of reasons. A quantitative large-scale survey could bring a deeper understanding in all of these three reasons.

Further research to the reasons to migrate can be executed at two levels. First it can be investigated whether someone migrated for economic reasons, family circumstances, study or other reasons. Secondly, more specific reasons can be asked, for example an economic reason can be looking for a better life, getting a job or earning more income. This could bring more understanding in the importance of the several reasons.

With a large-scale quantitative survey also more research can be done to the well-being of people in Sub-Saharan Africa. With a large sample size, a more representative understanding of well-being in Sub-Saharan Africa can be created. It could be researched whether several demographic variables, mentioned in Section 3.3 of this study, have an influence on the level of satisfaction with life in general. Also it could be researched which specific domains of life are particularly important in their satisfaction with life in general for people living in Sub-Saharan Africa. This could enlighten the remarkable result in this research that not one specific domain of life scored as negative as the satisfaction with life in general.

#### 6.4.3 Suggestions for further research related to the execution of the interviews

This research has been executed during daytime in Morogoro. It was tried to get a diverse sample by executing the interviews in different places in town and with people with different professions. However, as mentioned in Section 6.3.3, some professionals are interviewed less than others because of the timing of the interviews. Future research can broaden the scope by interviewing also in the evening and during weekends. In this way, possibly migrants with other jobs can be interviewed, and it can be checked whether the type of job indeed does not influence the life story of a person.

Another possibility to gain more insight in the experiences of a rural-urban migrant in Tanzania can be gained by executing a longitudinal study. It would be interesting if the research starts by doing interviews with people who are living in the rural area and thinking about migration to a city. Why do these people think about leaving? And where do they want to move to? Why? How satisfied are they with life? Then a follow up interview can be done just after they arrived in city. Why did they finally decide to migrate? In this way, the problem discussed in Section 6.3.4, that migrants might not remember their reasons to migrate, is solved as their reasons are asked immediately after they made their decision. After several years another interview can be done, to see in what way their decision to migrate changed their life. By inquiring several times after the level of life satisfaction, more insight can be created in how the satisfaction with life in general changes over time due to migration. In this way, the change in the satisfaction with life in general can be measured in a more objective way. This will solve the problem discussed in Section 6.3.4 about the subjectivity in the answer on the change with the satisfaction with life in general due to migration.

#### 6.4.4 Suggestions for further research related to the content of the interviews

Lastly, some suggestions can be made related to the content of the interviews. As explained in Section 6.3.4, some demographic information about the current life of the migrant is asked. However, more demographic information of the migrant at the time he or she decided to migrate can give a lot of information about the process of migration. If interviews with migrants are executed, it is recommended to also investigate relevant demographic information of the migrant at the time of migration. Especially, more attention could be paid to the level of education someone attended, the work-experience, the marital status or whether someone has children at the time of migration.

Another topic that could be investigated in more detail in future research, as already discussed in section 6.3.4, is that the distinguished domains of life can be tested with more variables per domain. Now for the specific domains of life only one question is asked but for most domains a set of topics can be developed. This can give more information about the domains of life and the amount of influence a domain of life has on the satisfaction with life in general. In addition, it can be studied whether there are still more domains of life that are important for life satisfaction.

Finally, one more content-wise topic needs to be discussed. In one of the interviews a topic came up which did not receive so much attention in this research. One respondent explained that since he was a child he saw other migrants coming from town and visiting the place of origin well dressed and with many gifts. This image of other people who became successful in town created high expectations for the people who lived in the rural area. Due to this image, the rural inhabitants expected to easily make money in town and therefore the urban life must be a good life. This respondent therefore felt the desire to move to a town as well. Such an image of others being successful in town can have a big influence in the decision of other rural inhabitants to migrate as well. However, it is possible these people who visited the place of origin did not have such a good life in town, but kept up to this appearance in the rural area, as they did not want to be seen as having failed. More research is required to understand the importance of this aspect in the decision to migrate.

### *6.5 Policy recommendations*

As this research demonstrated, many people migrate to town because of the hardship of life in the rural area and the hope of getting a better life with more income in town. For many people their life did improve after they migrated, but still many migrants are dissatisfied with their life in general. They miss their home and their family. Some migrants feel the desire to return to the place of origin, but they stay in town because they need the money and the job that they only can get in town.

The municipality of Morogoro emphasizes facing some problems in service delivery of health services, water supply, housing facilities, school facilities, infrastructure expansion and infrastructure maintenance due to the rapid population growth (Morogoro Municipal Council, 2009). This demonstrates that Morogoro, as an example of a medium large town in Tanzania, has problems with keeping up high quality services for so many new residents. The process of people moving from the rural area to cities goes together with problems in the city. For Morogoro and its inhabitants it would probably be better if the population would not increase as fast as it does now and thus it would be better if the migration flow reduces.

For the people in the rural area the town is still attractive. The people in the rural area think they might benefit if they migrate to town, as they assume life is better in a town than in the rural area.

To reduce this migration flow from the rural area to the town, something need to change. If the economic perspectives and opportunities in the rural area improve, the migration flow might reduce. Several migrants explained that they would not have migrated if their living situation in the rural area would be better. In addition, some migrants would return if they could get a job and earn a proper income in the rural area. To improve the economic perspectives and opportunities in the rural area, the situation of the people living in the rural area needs to improve. Many people in the rural area do not have access to piped water and electricity, also the roads and transport can be a problem and sometimes it is hard to go to a hospital as they are far away. There is a need for more and a diverse set of jobs in the rural area and for better facilities. If this improves, possibly less people will decide to migrate and it might stimulate migrants to return to the place of origin.

Next to the improvement of the situation in the rural area, more can be done to reduce the migration flow to town. People think the situation in town is better than in the rural area. However, some respondents explained that their situation did not improve as much as they expected it would due to migration. Some migrants keep up appearance when they visit the place of origin. These migrants want to show they are successful, even if they actually are not successful in town. This can influence other people living in the place of origin to decide to migrate based on a false image of town.

As people might decide to migrate based on this subjective information about the situation in the cities, which they got from other migrants, it would be useful to invest in giving people, living in the rural area, objective information about the situation in cities. For example, a counsellor could travel around in the rural area of Tanzania to give information to the people living in the rural area.

By improving the situation in the rural area and by giving objective information about the cities, the migration flow from the rural area to medium large cities as Morogoro could be reduced at least regarding migrants who migrate for economic reasons.



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## Appendix 1 Interview guide

### Introduction:

Firstly, thank you for participating in this interview. Before we start the interview, I will tell you something about the background and purpose of the interview

- My name is Jorieke Kloek and I am a student at Wageningen University in The Netherlands.
- The primary goal of this interview is to get an idea of your experiences related to your decision to migrate to Morogoro. The results of this interview will be used for making an analysis about rural-urban migration in Morogoro.
- The results of this research will not be used further. In addition, your name will at no time be used to ensure anonymity.
  
- As interviewer, I will ask some questions about your experiences and perceptions on migration to Morogoro. When you respond to the questions, please note that there are no wrong answers; it is about how you feel.
- I will sometimes ask you about your place of origin. With this, I mean the place where you are grown up.
  
- In order to be able to interpret your answers well, I would like to tape your answers. After the project is finished, recordings will be destroyed. Do you agree on recording the interview?
- Furthermore, I will take some notes during the interview purely for my own use.
  
- The interview will take about 30 minutes
- Do you have any questions for now?

### Turn on recorder

#### Part 1: Background information about the migrant

First I would like to know some background information about you.

*What is your place of origin?*

*Besides your place of origin and Morogoro, have you ever lived anywhere else?  
If yes, where and what did you do there?*

*What was your main occupation before you came here?*

*When did you arrive in Morogoro?*

*What kind of job do you have now?*

#### Part 2: Reasons to migrate

Introduction: Now I would like to talk with you about your decision to migrate to Morogoro. Please try to go back to when you decide to migrate.

*Why did you decide to migrate from your place of origin to Morogoro? Please name all reasons you remember*

*What was the main reason to migrate to Morogoro?*

Note: write down the reasons called, so you can come back on this in the next part.

### **Part 3: The evaluation of migration**

Introduction: now I would like to talk with you about how you evaluate your decision to migrate now you live here already for a while.

*You mentioned before your reasons to migrate. When looking to your situation now, how do you currently evaluate your reasons to migrate?*

*(So, are your reasons still important for you and did it come truth?)*

Note 1: if they do not know the reasons anymore, mention the reasons written down before

Note 2: if the main reason of migration is not labour, then continue with part 5.

### **Part 4: Determinants within labour migration**

Introduction: you said the main reason for you was labour migration. Now I would like to go deeper into several aspects of this decision to migrate.

*How did you think you would find a job?*

*Did you visit Morogoro to look for work before you actually moved?*

*What did you expect about the income in Morogoro?*

*Was the probability of getting a loan or insurance important in your decision to migrate?*

*In assessing your income, did you compare it with others?*

*If yes, with whom did you compare your income?*

*If yes, did this play a role in your decision to migrate to Morogoro?*

*How did you come to the decision to migrate, in deliberation with your family or by yourself?*

*Did other family members migrate as well?*

*At the time you decided to move to Morogoro, did you knew other people who migrated to Morogoro before?*

*If yes, who did you know that already lived here?*

*If yes, did they help you in your process of migrating to Morogoro?*

*What did your family and friends think about your decision to migrate?*

*Were there also other things important for migrating?*

### **Part 5: current situation**

Introduction: now I would like to talk with you about your relation with your place of origin and with Morogoro.

*Do you sometimes visit your place of origin?*

*If yes, where do you stay if you are there?*

*Is it possible for you to return to your place of origin if you want to?  
(So can you live there again?)*

*Do you sometimes think about moving back to home?*

*If yes, why?*

*If yes 2, what are the reasons to stay in Morogoro?*

*If no, what makes Morogoro so attractive to you?*

*Which place do you like more, Morogoro or your place of origin?*

*Do you like to live in Morogoro permanently or do you want to return to your village of origin or do you want to go somewhere else? Why?*

### **Part 6: Change in well-being**

Introduction: now, I would like to talk with you about whether certain elements of your life are changed due to your decision to migrate.

- overall

*How satisfied are you with your life?*

*Can you maybe explain to me what makes that you experience this level of satisfaction?  
(So, what are important things for your appreciation of life?)*

*Can you explain how your level of life satisfaction did change due to your decision to migrate?  
(So, did it positively or negatively changed? Or do you experience no difference in life satisfaction before and after migration?)*

Note: from the topics following now, only discuss the items that are not discussed yet in these questions before

- health

*Did your health condition change due to your decision to migrate?*

*If yes, how?*

*How satisfied are you with your health nowadays?*

- Housing and living conditions,

*Did your housing situation change due to your decision to migrate?*

*If yes, how?*

*How satisfied are you with your living conditions nowadays?*

- Economic

*Did your income change due to your decision to migrate?*

*If yes, how?*

*How satisfied are you with your income nowadays?*

- job

*Did your job change due to your decision to migrate?*

*If yes, how?*

*How satisfied are you with your job nowadays?*

- family: partner, children, rest-of-family

*Did the contact with your family change due to your decision to migrate?*

*If yes, how?*

*How satisfied are you with your contacts with your family nowadays?*

- friendship

*Did your social contacts change due to your decision to migrate?*

*If yes, how?*

*How satisfied are you with your social contacts nowadays?*

*(Including contacts in the neighbourhood, friends, family)*

- personal: availability time to pursue personal hobbies, interests and recreational activities

*Did your leisure activities change due to your decision to migrate?*

*If yes, how?*

*How satisfied are you with your leisure activities nowadays?*

- community

*In what way is Morogoro different from your place of origin with regard to public facilities?  
(So think about roads, public transport, trash collection, hospitals, places of entertainment, electricity, public lights and piped water)*

*How satisfied are you with your community nowadays?*

### **Part 7: Background of individual**

Introduction: Finally I would like to know some more background information about you

*How old are you?*

*How old were you when you left your place of origin to come to Morogoro?*

*How many years of education did you take?*

*How many years of working experience do you have?*

*Are you single, engaged, married, divorced or widowed?*

*Do you have children?*

### **End of interview**

Those were all my questions.

We talked today about your personal experiences with your decision to migrate to the city of Morogoro. Do you have any questions, or anything you want to add or comment on?

Turn off Recorder

- Thank you for participating in this interview. I really appreciate it.
- The recordings will be only for my research and report, as mentioned earlier. Recordings will be destroyed after finishing this study.

Thank you again.





## **Appendix 2 Description of respondents in three groups**

### **Economic reasons**

#### Respondent 1:

- Female, single, 27 years old.
- Place of origin Machame, 8 years in Morogoro, did not live in more places.
- 7 years of education, worked 8 years, employee.
- Migrated to find a better life, as life in the rural area is hard and she wants to earn more income.
- Does see a possibility to return, but does not feel the desire to return, prefers Morogoro.
- Dissatisfied with life as plans are not made.

#### Respondent 2:

- Female, single, 32 years old.
- Place of origin Kibosho Kirima, 11 years in Morogoro, did not live in more places.
- 9 years of education, worked 11 years, self-employed.
- Migrated to find a better life, more income and a better environment.
- Does see a possibility to return, but does not feel the desire to return, prefers Morogoro.
- Dissatisfied with life, still fighting for a better life.

#### Respondent 3:

- Male, married, 43 years old.
- Place of origin Kilosa, 26 years in Morogoro, did not live in more places.
- 7 years of education, worked 10 years, self-employed.
- Migrated to find a better life, life in the rural area was hard, looking for a job.
- Does not see a possibility to return, does sometimes feel the desire to return, prefers the place of origin.
- A bit satisfied with life, enough income to meet the basic needs but not as satisfied as expected.

#### Respondent 4:

- Male, single, 25 years old.
- Place of origin Lindi region, 8 years in Morogoro, did live in another village first.
- 5 years of education, worked 15 years, employee.
- Migrated to find a better life, as life in the rural was hard and he saw others succeed in town.
- Does not see a possibility to return, does sometimes feel the desire to return, prefers the place of origin.
- A bit satisfied with life, as the culture and the people in Morogoro are nice but he does not earn enough income.

Respondent 6:

- Male, married, 47 years old.
- Place of origin Mkoba, 28 years in Morogoro, did not live in more places.
- 11 years of education, worked 25 years, self-employed.
- Migrated to find a better life, to get more income and a job.
- Does not see a possibility to return, but does sometimes feel the desire to return, prefers Morogoro.
- Satisfied with life, as he can foresee in his basic needs.

Respondent 9:

- Male, single, 24 years old.
- Place of origin Kilimanjora region, 2 years in Morogoro, did live in Arusha before.
- 7 years of education, worked 8 years, self-employed.
- Migrated to find a better life, life is hard in the place of origin and in Arusha, wants to earn more money.
- Does see a possibility to return, does sometimes feel the desire to return, prefers the place of origin.
- Dissatisfied with life.

Respondent 10:

- Female, married, 24 years old.
- Place of origin Musoma, 2 years in Morogoro, did live in Mwanza before.
- 7 years of education, worked 4 years, housewife.
- Migrated to find a better life, life is hard in the origin, to find a job.
- Does not see a possibility to return, does sometimes feel the desire to return, prefers the place of origin.
- A bit satisfied with life, missing her family.

Respondent 11:

- Female, single, 18 years old.
- Place of origin Iringa rural, 3 years in Morogoro, did not live in more places before.
- 7 years of education, worked 3 years, employee.
- Migrated to find a better life, to help the family and get more income.
- Does see a possibility to return, does not feel the desire to return, prefers Morogoro.
- Dissatisfied with life, did not made her plans.

Respondent 12:

- Male, single, 26 years old.
- Place of origin Matombo, less than 1 year in Morogoro, did live in Dar es Salaam before.
- 7 years of education, worked for less than 1 year, employee.
- Migrated to find a better life, life in rural and Dar es Salaam hard, Morogoro is a better place.
- Does see the possibility to return, but does not feel the desire to return, prefers Morogoro.
- Dissatisfied with life, life is still hard.

Respondent 13:

- Male, married, 47 years old.
- Place of origin Haubi, 25 years in Morogoro, did not live in more places.
- 11 years of education, worked for 28 years, self-employed.
- Migrated to find a better life, life in the rural area hard, to earn more income.
- Does see the possibility to return and does sometimes feel the desire to return, prefers Morogoro.
- Satisfied with life, can meet basic needs.

Respondent 14:

- Male, single, 28 years old.
- Place of origin Kibaha, 7 years in Morogoro, did live in Dar es Salaam before.
- 7 years of education, worked 10 years, self-employed.
- Migrated to find a better life, life rural is hard, to find a job, lifestyle Morogoro.
- Does see the possibility to return, does sometimes feel the desire to return, prefers the place of origin.
- A bit satisfied with life, as there is a nice lifestyle in Morogoro, but missing the family and does not earn enough income.

Respondent 17:

- Male, single, 27 years old.
- Place of origin Mahenge, 8 years in Morogoro, did not live in more places.
- 7 years of education, worked 8 years, employee.
- Migrated to find a better life, to have own independent life.
- Does see the possibility to return, does not feel the desire to return, prefers both Morogoro and the place of origin.
- A bit satisfied, has own room but not made all plans yet.

Respondent 18:

- Male, married, 38 years old.
- Place of origin Kilimanjaro region, 17 years in Morogoro, did live in Arusha and Dar es Salaam before.
- 9 years of education, worked 22 years, self-employed.
- Migrated to find a better life, life in the place of origin is hard, want to find a job and earn more income, life in Morogoro is better.
- Does not see the possibility to return and does not feel the desire to return, prefers both the place of origin and Morogoro.
- Satisfied with life, as he earns enough income to meet his basic needs.

Respondent 19:

- Male, single, 25 years old.
- Place of origin Iringa rural, 1 year in Morogoro, did live in Iringa, Dodoma, Dar es Salaam and Moshi before.
- 7 years of education, worked 8 years, employee.
- Migrated to start working, found a job in Morogoro.
- Does see the possibility to return, does sometimes feel the desire to return, prefers the place of origin.
- Dissatisfied with life, as life is still hard and the salary is low.

Respondent 21:

- Male, married, 37 years old.
- Place of origin Mgeta, 15 years in Morogoro, did not live in more places.
- 7 years of education, worked 15 years, employee.
- Migrated to find a better life, life in rural hard, Morogoro is close to home.
- Does not see the possibility to return, does not feel the desire to return, prefers Morogoro.
- Dissatisfied with life, wants to change jobs and still has plans for the future.

Respondent 23:

- Male, married, 30 years old.
- Place of origin Matombo, 1 year in Morogoro, did not live in more places.
- 11 years of education, worked 10 years, employee.
- Migrated to find a better life, life in the rural area is hard, to earn more income.
- Does not see a possibility to return, does not feel the desire to return, prefers Morogoro.
- A bit satisfied with life, earn more income but still not enough.

Respondent 24:

- Male, married, 70 years old.
- Place of origin Tanga rural, 40 years in Morogoro, did live in several places before.
- 19 years of education, worked more than 20 years, retired.
- Migrated for a job.
- Does see a possibility to return, does not feel the desire to return, prefers Morogoro.
- Satisfied with life, enough money for basic needs.

**Family circumstances**

Respondent 5:

- Male, single, 44 years old.
- Place of origin Mgeta, 20 years in Morogoro, did live in Dar es Salaam and Mwanza before.
- 7 years of education, worked more than 20 years, self-employed.
- Migrated to live closer to the family and because life is hard.
- Does see a possibility to return, does not feel the desire to return, prefers the place of origin.
- Dissatisfied with life, income is still low.

Respondent 7:

- Female, married, 42 years old.
- Place of origin Rombo, 20 years in Morogoro, did not live in more places.
- 7 years of education, worked 10 years, self-employed.
- Migrated to get married with her husband.
- Does not see a possibility to return, does not feel the desire to return, prefers Morogoro.
- Dissatisfied with life, just has a small amount of capital.

Respondent 8:

- Female, married, 37 years old.
- Place of origin Kondoa, 11 years in Morogoro, did not live in more places.
- 7 years of education, did not work, housewife.
- Migrated to get married with her husband, to fight for a better life together.
- Does see a possibility to return, does sometimes feel the desire to return, prefers Morogoro.
- A bit satisfied with life, aims are not met yet.

Respondent 15:

- Female, single, 50 years old.
- Place of origin Iringa rural, 8 years in Morogoro, did live in Dodoma before.
- 1 year of education, worked 14 years, self-employed.
- Migrated to take care of an ill child living in Morogoro.
- Does see the possibility to return, does sometimes feel the desire to return, prefers Morogoro.
- Dissatisfied with life, life is hard

Respondent 16

- Female, married, 23 years old.
- Place of origin Mbeya rural, 2 years in Morogoro, did not live in more places.
- 7 years of education, worked 10 years, self-employed.
- Migrated to follow her husband.
- Does see the possibility to return, does sometimes feel the desire to return, prefers the place of origin.
- Satisfied with life, enough money for the basic needs.

Respondent 20

- Male, married, 33 years old.
- Place of origin Iringa rural, 17 years in Morogoro, did not live in more places.
- 9 years of education, worked 12 years, employee.
- Migrated to be independent, as living with the family is a challenge.
- Does not see a possibility to return, does not feel the desire to return, prefers the place of origin.
- Satisfied with life, as earning enough income.

Respondent 22

- Female, single, 20 years old.
- Place of origin Tanga rural, 2 years in Morogoro, did live in Dar es Salaam before.
- 11 years of education, worked less than 1 year, employee.
- Migrated to take care of her ill father.
- Does not see a possibility to return, does sometimes feel the desire to return, prefers the place of origin.
- A bit satisfied with life, earns not a lot of income but enough for the basic needs.

## **Studying**

### Respondent 25

- Female, single, 27 years old.
- Place of origin Mikumi, 1 year in Morogoro, did not live in more places.
- 11 years of education, worked for less than 1 year, employee.
- Migrated for further studying.
- Does see the possibility to return, does not feel the desire to return, prefers Morogoro.
- Satisfied with life.

## Appendix 3 Interviews

### Respondent 1

*What is your place of origin?*

Machame, in the Kilimanjaro region.

*Did you also live somewhere else?*

No.

*So you came directly from there to Morogoro?*

Yes.

*What did you do before you came here?*

I was studying, and after I completed that, I came here.

*When did you arrive?*

2002

*What kind of job you have now?*

Taylor.

*Why did you come here?*

I thought I come to Morogoro, because life here is very good and there it is not good.

*Why not?*

Income.

*And you expected higher income here?*

Yes.

*Were there other reasons?*

To find a better life.

*How do you evaluate your reasons to come here, did it indeed improve?*

My income is increased, but life is not getting better.

*Why not?*

Life has not reached the expectations I had when I came to town.

*And what where the expectations?*

To get a better life, but it did not reach the extent that I thought it would be.

*Before you came here, how did you think you would find a job?*

My brother prepared a place for work, and then I could come.

*Did you visit Morogoro before you came here to live?*

No.

*Was it also important that you could get a loan or insurance here?*

Yes.

*Was that important also to come here?*

Yes.

*Do you compare your income also with others?*

I look to my own income, but I also compare it with others.

*With who?*

With other tailors.

*Did you decide to come here yourself, or did you discuss it with the family?*

It was a family decision.

*Did other family members migrate as well?*

Yes.

*Who?*

My brother who migrated to Morogoro and my younger sister who migrated to Arusha.

*Before you came here, did you know other people that came here?*

Yes.

*Who?*

My brother and he helped me.

*Were there still other things important for your decision to come here?*

No.

*Do you sometimes visit your place of origin?*

Yes.

*How often?*

Once per year.

*If you go there, do you have your own house to stay in?*

No, I stay in the family house.

*Do the family also have cattle or land?*

Just 1 piece of cattle.

*Is it possible to go back home to live there again?*

Yes.

*Do you want to go back?*

No.

*Why not?*

There are important services, which I get here which are not available in my place of home.

*Which are those services?*

My job, my income, I cannot get that in my own place and no one can do my hair like this.

*You said your life did not improve, so income is really important for you?*

Yes.

*Do you want to live here forever, or want to go somewhere else?*

I like the place, but if I get another job in another region, I just go.

*Do you want to stay in the rural area or in the urban area?*

The town.

*Why?*

Due to the services available here.

*How satisfied are you with your life?*

Life in Morogoro is better.

*Why?*

I can work here, and afford for my own services.

*How satisfied are you with your life?*

Not so satisfied, I need to improve it more, I still have plans that I not yet have made.

*But from before and after migration, are you now more or less satisfied with your life?*

I am somehow more satisfied compared to before. When I came here, I had nothing, but now at least I have two machines for my own.

*How is your health?*

My health is great.

*How is your house?*

For living it is satisfactory, but not so much, because I would like to have my own house.

*But is it better or worse than before?*

It is better.

*How is the contact with the family?*

The communication is good.

*Is it changed due to migration?*

It is more often than before.



*How satisfied are you with it?*

Very satisfied.

*How is your social network changed due to migration?*

No changes.

*Did your leisure activities/hobbies change due to migration?*

In the rural area there is no leisure time, but here I can have leisure time.

*So are you satisfied with it?*

Yes.

*How is the difference between Morogoro and the area where you came from?*

There is a difference, there roads are very bad, but the hospital is like the same.

Electricity is available at both places.

*What do you expect for the future?*

I expect to have a better life, with my own house, a family, a car, a house and a better job.

*So you still have big plans?*

Yes.

*How old are you?*

27.

*How many years of education did you take?*

7 years, so primary school.

*And how many years of working experience you have?*

5 years.

*Are you single or married?*

I am single.

*And do you have children?*

No.

## **Respondent 2**

*What is your place of origin?*

Kibosho Kirima, Kilimanjaro region.

*Is it far from here?*

Yes, in Kilimanjaro region.

*Did you also live somewhere else?*

No.

*So you came from Kibosho Kirima to Morogoro?*

Yes.

*When you came from Kibosho Kirima to here, what was your occupation?*

I was studying, and after completion of my primary education I came here.

*When did you come here?*

1999.

*What is your occupation now?*

I am a tailor.

*Now, about your decision to migrate. Why did you decide to migrate?*

To find a better life.

*What is a better life?*

Environment, income. Because in rural area I would not be able to be a tailor. So it is better here. In the rural area there are not so many customers.

*And you really want to be tailor, so that is why you came here. Or does also other things are important like facilities?*

Materials, in rural areas you cannot find materials; you have to take them from town to rural, which is too costly. So being in the urban area is cheap.

*How do you evaluate your decision to come here, do you like it?*

My situation now is better than before.

*How is it better?*

In terms of income, in town I can make deals, in rural it is just rare. If I would be in rural, I would not be looking that healthy as I look now.

*When you decide to migrate, did you think it was easy to get this job?*

No, I did not think it was easy. But I just went to try.

*How did you think you would get a job?*

I saw other tailors succeeding, so if I could get in this business, I would also succeed. So looking to others, how they do, how do they benefit, and then decide to go.

*Before you came here to live, did you visit Morogoro before?*

No.

*What did you expect to earn?*

I expected to be successful due to different circumstances compared to others.

*And did this work out the way you thought?*

Yes.

*Was it also important that you could get a loan or insurance here?*

I can get a loan or insurance here. Many developing projects are located in urban area, and not in rural. So it is easier to get it here.

*Was it also important in coming here?*

Yes.

*Do you also compare your income with others?*

It is enough; I can use it in fulfilling my plans.

*Did you decide to migrate on your own, or together with family?*

I came alone.

*But did you also discuss it with the family?*

I talked about it with my mother.

*Did other family members migrate?*

Yes.

*Did you know other people that came here before you went to Morogoro?*

My sister migrated to here.

*Did she also help you with getting a job or a house?*

Yes.

*What did your family think about your decision to migrate?*

They thought it was good to go.

*Do you sometimes visit your place of origin?*

I sometimes go.

*How often?*

Once a year.

*If you go there do you have your own house?*

No.

*If you want, is it possible to live there again?*

It is possible.

*Do you want to go back?*

No.

*Why not?*

Urban is more conducive, and I am preparing for my future, like building my own house in Morogoro, I have a tailor shop.

*So you want to live here all your life?*

Yes.

*How did your life change due to your decision to migrate?*

I am successful in here.

*How satisfied are you with your life?*

I am still fighting for a better life, so not yet satisfied.

*Did your satisfaction with life changed?*

Somehow, but I am still fighting. I have still big plans for the future.

*What kind of plans?*

I want to have a big office, a family, a nice car, my own house.

*How did your health change due to migration?*

It is good.

*So you are satisfied with your health?*

Yes.

*How did your living situation, your house change due to migration?*

The housing situation here is better.

*So are you happy now with the housing situation?*

I am dissatisfied with the house I am living now, so I am building my own house.

*Before you left, where you then satisfied with the house?*

No, that was not satisfactory as well.

*And income, how did it change?*

When I came from the rural area, I started with only one machine, but now, I have like four, so it is improved.

*And you are happy with it?*

I am still fighting; I still want to improve it.

*How satisfied are you with your job?*

For now it is all right, but when I get more income, I will change it, get a bigger office.

*So then you still will be tailor, but be the boss of others?*

Yes.

*Did the contact with the family change?*

The contact is very good; we have a lot of contact.

*So you are satisfied with it?*

Yes.

*And how did your social network, your friends change?*

Where I used to live, I had fewer friends than here.

*So you are satisfied with it?*

Yes.

*And leisure time, or the possibility to do nice things for yourself?*

I use leisure time to do other things that I like and can afford.

*What kind of things?*

Going out in the weekend, to other places.

*How do you like Morogoro's facilities, like roads, public transport, hospitals?*

Roads are not good, the daladala (the public transport) are good, public hospitals are not so good, but private hospitals are all right.

*How is Morogoro different from the place of origin in that regard?*

There is one hospital that is good and big, but other dispensaries are few and far, so you depend on the one hospital, but it is good. Roads there are not good also, the daladalas are good also. In both places I have access to electricity.

*How old are you now?*

32.

*How many years of education did you take?*

7 years primary education, and then 2 years secondary education, so in total 9 years.

*How many years of working experience you have?*

5 years I worked here, before I was working here and there, helping my sister, learning how to be a tailor and working as a tailor a bit at home and my sister then bring it to the clients.

*Are you single/married?*

Single.

*And you have children?*

No.

### **Respondent 3**

*What is your place of origin?*

Kilosa, Morogoro region.

*And did you also live in other places than Morogoro and Kilosa?*

No.

*What did you do before you came here, what was your occupation?*

I studied, and after completion I came here.

*What is your job?*

I am a taxi driver.

*When did you move to Morogoro?*

1984.

*Why did you decide to come to Morogoro?*

I came here for a better life.

*And in what way a better life?*

I came here and studied how to drive and mechanics. I came here as a tailor, and then I decided to do the driving school, and now I am a taxi driver.

*So first when you came here you continued studying?*

Yes.

*And that is why you came here?*

Yeah, searching for a better life through studying.

*Why did you choose Morogoro?*

I am used to Morogoro.

*So you came to Morogoro before you migrated?*

Yes.

*How do you evaluate your decision to migrate?*

Somehow it is better than before.

*But what is better?*

In terms of income.

*When you came here, how did you think you would find a job?*

I came here and met a relative who supported me.

*So before you came here you knew someone would help you?*

Yes.

*And who was that?*

My in-law.

*What did you expect about income?*

I expected a normal income. In Kilosa if you give someone 2000 then this is a lot of money, but in here, it is just a little bit of money.

*Was it also important that you can get a loan or insurance here?*

Yes, I am a member of sarcos, which is a small group that gives loans to its members, and that is only possible in town.

*When you look to your income, do you only look to how much you can do with it or also compare it with others?*

I usually compared my income with others who have the same profession.

*Was this also a reason to come here?*

Yes.

*When you came here, did you decide it on your own, or also together with the family?*

Alone.

*Did also other family members migrate?*

Yes, my younger brothers and sisters.

*What did the family think about the decision to migrate?*

They said like just go and try and then if it is difficult, then just return.

*Are there also other things important?*

Another important reason is that in Kilosa there is no earning industry, if you live there you have to be a teacher or a farmer, otherwise you are jobless. Here there are many jobs available, because there are a lot of industries.

*Do you sometimes visit Kilosa?*

Yes, 3 times a year.

*If you are there, do you have your own house?*

No, not yet.

*Do you want to get your own house there?*

Yes, that is my plan.

*Is it also possible to go back to live there?*

No.

*Why not?*

I want to live here; most of my plans are in Morogoro. But if I am successful I will build a house in Kilosa and live there, but for now just Morogoro.

*Do you want to live here permanently or somewhere else?*

If things will change, I will go back to Kilosa.

*How satisfied are you with your life?*

Half-half satisfied. I am satisfied because I can eat, sleep, have social services. But I am not as satisfied as I expected.

*What did you expected?*

I expected a better life, but for now it is not enough, I want my own house, but I don't have it yet.

*Did your satisfaction with life changed due to migration?*

Yes.

*How?*

Whatever I want I can get here, so that is better than before.

*How is your health?*

I am fine.

*Are you satisfied with your health?*

Yes, fine.

*How is your housing situation?*

I am not so satisfied with my house, I now rent a house, but I want to have my own house. But it is somehow satisfactory, but not much.

*Are you more satisfied with your housing situation than before migration?*

Housing is almost the same, both access to electricity and water, but in Kilosa I stayed in my father's house and here I pay rent.

*How do you like your job?*

I am dissatisfied with my job; I want another job in the future.

*What kind of job?*

In industries, or government, or truck-driver.

*How is the contact with the family changed due to migration?*

The contact is still fine.

*Are you satisfied with it?*

Yes.

*How did your social network change?*

I do not have any friends any more in Kilosa, only in town.

*Are you happy with it?*

Yes, according to the situation, I am mostly always here, so it is fine.

*How is it with leisure activities and hobbies, did it change due to migration?*

I do not take leisure time, but before also not, so it is not changed.

*What are important differences between Morogoro and Kilosa?*

There is a very bad infrastructure, so if you harvested some crops and you want to sell them, then you have to spend a lot of money to travel, so at the end you made a loss on the sale instead of making a profit.

*How is it with the hospitals?*

That is the same, both you have a hospital.

*What do you expect for the future?*

I want to change my job, and have a family and a better life.

*How old are you now?*

43.

*How old were you when you moved?*

17.

*How much years of education did you take?*

7 years of primary and also some driving school and tailoring.

*How much working education you have?*

10 years of tailoring and driving.

*Are you single or married?*

I am married.

*Do you have children?*

I have 2 children, of 11 and 7 years old.

#### **Respondent 4**

*What is your place of origin?*

Lindi region.

*Did you also live somewhere else than Lindi and Morogoro?*

Nachunja, another village.

*Before you came here, what did you do for occupation?*

I tried to sell second hand clothes for a living.

*When did you come to Morogoro?*

2002.

*What do you do now?*

When I first came to Morogoro I did odds, just small things to get a living. And now I have an employer for which I make cultural things for tourist.

*Why did you come to Morogoro?*

Life was very harsh where I came from, so I came here to look for a better future.

*You said you want to come here for a better life, but how is it now. Do you really have a better life?*

I came here, but I still did not get what I want. But the difference between 2002 and 2010 is very big. The differences live wise are large. People are more open minded, I see how people live. Where I come from, people are more reserved.

*And what do you like more?*

But I like it more there, I love it there.

*How did you think you would find a job here?*

I left there thinking that I could do business of my own. But I did not manage that yet.

*Did you visit Morogoro before you came here to live?*

No, never, I did not know where I was going to live.

*Did you expect higher income here?*

I expected when I come here I would make a lot of money, to change my life.

*Do you also compare your income with other people?*

I only look at my own income.

*Is it also important to be able to get a loan or insurance here?*

Yes.

*How did you come to the decision to migrate, only by yourself, or did you also talk about it with family or friends?*

Since a child, I used to watch this guys coming from town, well dressed giving gifts to their parents, so from my youngster I wanted that kind of life, I want to go and to be able to create and make money to come back as being somebody.

*So you also know other people that migrated?*

Yes.

*And did you also know people who went to Morogoro?*

No, they went to Dar.

*But did someone help you with coming here and finding work?*

No one promised me work or helped me here.

*What did your family and friends think about your decision?*

People did not say anything and I was not scared coming here.

*And are there also other things important?*

If I make everything all right, if I make money, that I will try and invest to go back home.

*So you want to go back home if it is possible?*



It all depends on how I am going to make money and how much money. I want to go back to the village but I have to stay here now.

*So you want to go back if you have money, why?*

If I go back home I have to go back strong, well-made, so that my family is proud on me. So that is why I do not go back. But if I will become successful I will go back.

*Do you sometimes visit Lindi?*

Yes. I went in 2006 for a year and came back here in 2007, and then in 2009 I went twice.

*If you are there, where do you stay?*

I stay with relatives.

*How happy are you with your life?*

I am a little bit happy. I am not yet so much happy.

*What makes it nice, and what makes it hard?*

What I love about here are the people, the culture. But I am not happy when I have got no money.

*Before you migrated, were you more or less happy than now?*

I was hundred percent happier there, because relatives were there, my parents, I could eat free, I was just more free and happy there.

*How did your health change due to migration?*

It is better here.

*Are you also satisfied with your health?*

Yes.

*And your housing situation, how is it changed?*

It is better here, there the house was of grass and mud, and I slept in a bed, which is made by weeds. Here you have a proper bed with a mattress. So that is much better.

*How did your income change?*

The difference is not big, but it is here a bit better.

*How satisfied are you with your job that you have now, compared with before?*

The difference is very big, but it is better this way.

*And how is the contact with your family now?*

Like each six days we call, we talk, we communicate.

*And are you satisfied with this contact, compared with before migration?*

I am not happy, here I cannot communicate with all of them. There I saw everyone everyday, here not.

*And do you have friends here?*

Yes.

*And do you more like your contact with your friends here or before migration?*

It is better with friends here, we talk about how to make money, how to go forwards, we did not do that with friends at home.

*Do you also have free time to do something nice for hobbies or leisure?*

I jog every morning.

*And is it better than before?*

No, it was better at home.

*And Morogoro compared to Lindi, like roads and transport, how does it differ?*

The transport and roads are better here.

*And hospitals?*

The hospitals are good in both places.

*And electricity and water?*

There it is not like here, we had to pump it, so it is better here.

*What do you want for the future?*

I want to have a wife, kids, just a good family.

*How old are you?*

I am born in 1985, so I am 25.

*How many years of education did you take?*

Just about 5 years.

*And how many years of working experience do you have?*

About 15 years.

*Are you single or married?*

I am single.

*Do you have children?*

No.

*Do you maybe have more to add?*

The biggest treat is diseases like HIV/Aids.

## **Respondent 5**

*Where do you come from?*

Mgeta, in Morogoro district.

*Did you live in more places than only Morogoro and Mgeta?*

Yes. Before I came here, I lived in Dar es Salaam and I go around in the country. I lived in many places, also Mwanza. And then I realized that what I was doing is not profitable for me and then I decided to come here and do business.

*What was your occupation before you came here?*

I was working in mining.

*When did you come here?*

1990.

*What kind of job do you have now?*

I own the business, with potatoes, unions.

*Why did you come to Morogoro?*

I decided to come and live here because it is close to my family.

*And are there still more reasons to come here?*

I realized that the life is so tough and when I want to get money there is no money, so then I decided to move close to my place of origin.

*And how do you like it here, are you happy you came back to the area close to your place of origin?*

Yes.

*How did you think you would find a job here?*

I decided to come here, so that my family could help me.

*And did you visit Morogoro before you came here to live?*

It was not the first time I came here, here my relatives live and Morogoro and Mgeta is not far.

*What did you expect from the income here?*

I wanted my business.

*Was it also important to be able to get a loan or insurance?*

No, I did not expect to get a loan or insurance. But when you have a table, an office, you can talk with the wholesalers and they can provide you with a bag of potatoes or unions and then you can sell it and the profit you take.

*When you look to how much income you have, do you also compare it with other people?*

It is almost average.

*With whom do you compare it?*

With everyone from the market.

*And was this also important in the decision to migrate to here?*

Well, in urban it is better rather than the rural.

*How did you come to the decision to migrate, alone or with the family?*

Alone.

*Did also other family members migrate?*

Yes, they came earlier in Morogoro.

*And did they help with getting a job?*

I depend myself on my business.

*What did the family think of your decision to migrate?*

They support me, but they were very happy I came more close to home.

*Were there also other things important in the decision to come here?*

No.

*How often do you go to your place of origin?*

I go there 2 times per year, especially if there is any problem or with holidays.

*And if you are there, where do you stay?*

I stay in the house of my parents.

*Is it possible to go back home to live in Mgeta?*

It is possible because it is my motherland.

*Do you want to live there again?*

No.

*Why?*

Here you have the money circulation and you can easily sell something, which is why I want to live in Morogoro.

*Do you want to live permanently in Morogoro?*

If the business is good and be profitable and high, I will settle here and live here, but if the business collapses I will go back and live there again.

*How satisfied are you with your life?*

No, I am dissatisfied.

*Why not?*

The income is very low and the needs are very high.

*Before you came here, was it better or worse?*

Then life was so tough in the mining area, food was not provided, here life is better.

*How is your health compared with before?*

Here it is better because in the mining the work was so tough.

*Are you happy with it?*

Yes.

*And how did your housing situation change?*

When I was working in mining I lived with relatives, but now I rent a house.

*And how satisfied are you with it?*

I am satisfied because now I am free to do anything I want.

*Are you satisfied with your income?*

No.

*Why not?*

The capital is very low and if there was any place where I could get a loan it would be better.

*How satisfied are you with your job?*

Yes, I am satisfied, now it is better.

*How did the contact with your family change due to coming here?*

Before the distance was far, but now I live close to them, so it is better now.

*Is the contact with friends changed due to migration?*

At that time I had a lot of friends, here I got a few people.

*So how satisfied are you with it nowadays?*

Before I was more satisfied with it.

*How did your time for leisure change?*

I do not have time because when I leave the place, I go home, eating, washing and sleeping.

*And is it changed?*

Before the time was sufficient, so I also can decide not to work.

*How satisfied are you with the leisure time?*

I enjoy it here, because the job here is very light compared to the previous job, I can just sit here and waiting and got a lot of time to rest.

*How is Morogoro compared with your place of origin with regard to transport?*

It is quite different. There we were making small camps, there were roads but there was no electricity and water was available from in the ground and close to the camp there was a dispensary. Here is the urban, everything is available.

*Which place do you like more?*

I like Mgeta more.

*What are your plans for the future?*

I want to expand my business, to get enough capital.

*How old are you?*

I was born in 1966.

*How many years of education did you take?*

7 years.

*How many years did you work?*

10 years.

*Are you single, married?*

I am single.

*Do you have children?*

No, but I am helping my relative.

## **Respondent 6**

*Where do you come from?*

I come from Mkoba, Shinyanga region.

*Did you live in more places than only Morogoro and Mkoba?*

I live in Morogoro now.

*What did you do before you came here?*

I was schooling.

*How long are you here?*

I am here since 1972.

*What is your occupation now?*

I am a businessman for Morogoro market, my business is rice and beans.

*Why did you come here?*

I am coming to get a good life.

*But what is a good life?*

In town there is money circulation, there are many business, so it is easy to get money. In the rural areas people are depending on farming and nowadays there is a low production of food, especially on cash crops and food crops, so there is no money to earn, that is why I came here. Even jobs are more available here.

*How do you evaluate your decision to come here?*

Yes, because the region here changed my life, I can help others, like my parents and relatives.

*When you came here, how did you think you could find a job?*

I got information from others who came here, that in urban there is money and jobs, and also social services like schools and hospitals.

*Did you visit Morogoro before you came here for living?*

It is the first time to come here after finishing the school. Then I got invited by a relative to come and live here.

*And which relative?*

My brother.

*And did he also help you with finding a job?*

Yes.

*Was it also important in your decision to come here to be able to get an insurance or loan?*

If you are doing a business, it is easy to get a loan or to be helped by NGO's.

*But was it also a reason to come here for living?*

I did not expect to get a loan because the rules for loan are very strict, so if you want a loan you need to have a business or capital. So I did not think to get a loan.

*When you look to your income, do you also compare it with other people to see how much income you have?*

This is a profitable business, because I can help my relatives, I can send my children to school.

*So you also compare it with other people?*

My income is increasing, because at the time I came here, I rent a house. But now I am living in my own house, so the income is increasing.

*When you decide to migrate, did you decide it by yourself or also in deliberation with your family?*

My sister said to me I have to go to Morogoro. They wanted me to come here.

*Do you have more family members who live here in Morogoro?*

I lived with my sister for 5 years and then I lived for myself.

*Do you sometimes visit the place of origin?*

No, I am doing business, but if my business collapses, I will go back to my village.

*Is it possible for you to go back to live there?*

No, in the rural area now, especially where I come from, you need a lot of capital to invest, rather than here. I just have a small amount of capital, but still I can get a living.

*But do you sometimes want to come back?*

Yes, because there are plantations of coffee where my grandparents lived. I want to go back there.

*How satisfied are you with your life?*

I am satisfied with my business, because I can solve my basic needs, I can send the children to school, I can pay money for the hospital. I came here and become familiar with the environment and I know the way of finding money and how to survive.

*Are you more satisfied with life than before you migrated?*

At that time I was still young and I was depending on my parents, so I cannot say anything about it. But now, life is tough, the costs are very high.

*And what makes it a hard life?*

The government do not provide the same services as before. Everything you depend on yourself.

*How is your health changed due to migration?*

Now here it is better, because it is easy to get a balanced diet.

*So you are satisfied with the health?*

Yes.

*And how is your housing situation?*

I have my own house.

*Are you satisfied with it?*

Yes.

*How satisfied are you with your income?*

No, I am not satisfied, day to day you want to earn more.

*Are you satisfied with your job?*

I am satisfied, because I have an experience in doing this business, more than 5 years ago.

*And the contact with your family, did that change due to migration?*

I have still contact with them.

*Are you satisfied with it?*

Yes.

*And your social network, how did that change?*

I got a lot of friends here, and become familiar with the people here.

*Are you satisfied with it?*

Yes.

*And how is your leisure time and activities changed due to migration?*

The business is so tough, I do not have time to do any job. I work from the morning till the evening.

*And what do you think about that?*

If there is any emergency, of course I can close the business, solve the problem and then come back. But sometimes it is a problem, the business has to continue.

*How is Morogoro different from where you come from if you look to transport, roads, daladala's?*

In urban areas the transport is very good.

*And what about hospitals?*

In my place of origin there is not any good social services, here it is good.

*And access to electricity and water?*

Now it is available, but before I came it was not available.

*Which place do you like more, Morogoro or your place of origin?*

I like it here because I am familiar here and I want to settle here.

*What are the plans for the future?*

I want to expand the business and to have a larger capital.

*How old are you?*

I am old, I am born in 1963 so I am 47.

*How old where you when you moved?*

19.

*How many years of education did you take?*

I followed for eleven years, 7 primary and 4 secondary.

*How long are you already working?*

I worked from 1985 onwards.

*Are you single or married?*

I am married.

*And do you have children?*

I have three children.



## **Respondent 7**

*Where are you from?*

Rombo, in the Kilimanjaro region.

*Did you also live in other places?*

No.

*What did you do when you was in Rombo?*

I was studying.

*When did you come to Morogoro?*

1990.

*What is your occupation?*

I am the owner of a shop.

*Why did you decide to come to Morogoro?*

I came to marry here.

*Did you like it to come here?*

Yes, because I was very much in love with my husband.

*Are you still married?*

Yes.

*When you came here, what did you think about getting a job?*

By the time I was housewife and then day to day I was thinking about getting a business, so I started with some small business and now I have a shop.

*Do you also have other family members that migrated?*

A young brother and a young sister and her children.

*Do you sometimes visit your place of origin?*

Yes, even this year. I go there if there is any ceremony.

*Where do you stay when you go there?*

I stay at the house of my parents.

*Is it possible to go back to live there?*

No.

*Why not?*

Because I am married and I stay with my husband.

*Do you sometimes want to go back?*

No, because my husband does not come from there, so it is just not possible.

*How satisfied are you with your life?*

I am dissatisfied, because the capital I have is just small.

*Before you came here, were you more satisfied or less?*

I was dissatisfied, that is why I decided to come here.

*Did your health change due to your decision to come here?*

Yes.

*How?*

I am just satisfied with it.

*How did your living situation change due to migration?*

The house have had changed.

*How?*

The houses in town are modern houses compared to rural.

*Are you satisfied with it?*

Yes.

*Are you satisfied with your income?*

Somehow.

*And do you like your job?*

I like it very much.

*How is the contact with your family changed due to migration?*

The contact is still there.

*Are you more or less satisfied with the relation?*

I am satisfied, we can visit each other and have contact by telephone.

*And how did your contact with friends change?*

I enjoy it here more because then I was young and the friends which I left there they are now all gone and moved to other places. My friends here give me advice about how to do the business and so on.

*And did your leisure time change due to migration?*

I have only little time, it is not sufficient. Because I have to work the whole day.

*Were you happier with the time before you came here?*

No, I am enjoying it here.

*How is Morogoro different compared with your place of origin with regard to transport and roads?*

There is a big difference, in the urban area everything is available. So I am satisfied with it here. Here there is water, electricity. It is better here.

*Which place do you like more?*

Morogoro, I do not want to go back because of my husband. I want to live here.

*What do you expect for the future?*

I expect to extend my business and then if I get more capital I can start another business.

*How old are you?*

42.

*How many years of education did you take?*

7 years, so primary.

*How many years do you work?*

10 years.

*Do you have children?*

Yes, 2 children.

## **Respondent 8**

*What is your place of origin?*

Kondoa, Dodoma region.

*Did you also live in other places then just Kondoa and Morogoro?*

No.

*What did you do in Kondoa?*

I was studying primary education.

*When did you arrive in Morogoro?*

In 1999.

*What kind of job do you have now?*

I am housewife, but I am also selling coal.

*Why did you decide to come to Morogoro?*

I came here to search for life.

*What do you mean with searching for life?*

I came to get married, so that maybe my life would be somehow better.

*So you came here and meet a guy and get married, or you were already engaged and came to marry here?*

I met a guy at Kondoa and then we decided to come here to fight for life.

*Now you live here for a while, how do you look back to your decision?*

It is right.

*So you got a better life?*

Yes.

*In what way?*

Somehow life in here is satisfying, because the income have changed compared to Kondoa.

*How did you think you or your husband would find a job here?*

There was no specific way to find a job, we just came here.

*Did you visit Morogoro before you came here?*

No.

*Why did you decide to come to Morogoro in special?*

I decided to come here because I am married and I was following my husband.

*Why did your husband want to come here?*

I do not know.

*Do you also have other family members that migrated?*

Yes.

*Who and where did they migrate?*

My two sisters to Dar es Salaam and one sister in Arusha and another migrated from Kondoa rural to Kondoa urban.

*Did you know people who lived in Morogoro before you came here?*

No.

*What did your family and friends think about that you came to Morogoro?*

My relatives and friends were just fine with my decision.

*Do you sometimes visit Kondoa?*

Yes, once per year.

*If you are there, where do you then stay?*

When I visit Kondoa, I stay in my parents' house.

*Is it possible for you together with your husband to go back to the region?*

Yes, there is the possibility in the near future.

*Do you want to go back?*

Yes.

*Why?*

I like to go back and live in Kondoa because life in Kondoa have changed, it became better.

*But what makes that you stay in Morogoro?*

We are still preparing ourself.

*How satisfied are you with your life?*

I am somehow a little bit satisfied.

*What is then satisfying and what not?*

Most of my aims are not met yet.

*And what are your aims then?*

When I was coming to Morogoro, I was aiming at having my own shop, but I did not achieve that up to now.

*Are you more or less satisfied with your life now than before?*

I am satisfied with my life.

*How is your health?*

It is fine.

*Are you satisfied with your health?*

Yes.

*And your housing situation, how did that change?*

Here it is better than in Kondoa.

*Why?*

In Kondoa there is no electricity, while here there is electricity.

*Do you also have your own house?*

I do not have a house, I rent a house.

*How is your income changed due to your migration?*

My income now somehow satisfies me.

*How did the contact with the family change?*

The contact is all right.

*Are you satisfied with it?*

Yes.

*How are your social contacts?*

The friends of Kondoa and here are all the same.

*Are you satisfied with it?*

Yes.

*And leisure activities, how did that change?*

Here in Morogoro I have more time for leisure, compared with before.

*Are you satisfied with it?*

Yes.

*How is Morogoro different compared to the place of origin with regard to transport?*

Transport services are better than in Kondoa.

*And hospitals?*

Hospital services are just the same.

*And water?*

Water is almost the same.

*Which place do you like more, here or Kondoa?*

Morogoro.

*What do you want from the future?*

In future I would like to have another business, which will help to get income.

*How old are you?*

37.

*How old were you when you came here?*

26.

*How many years of education did you take?*

Just primary education, so 7 years.

*How many years did you work?*

I did not work yet.

*Are you single or married?*

I am married.

*How many children do you have?*

I have 2 children.

## **Respondent 9**

*What is your place of origin?*

Kilimanjaro region.

*Did you also live somewhere else?*

Arusha.

*For how long did you live in Arusha?*

6 years.

*So you first left to Arusha and then to Morogoro?*

Yes.

*In Kilimanjaro, what was your occupation?*

I was studying, primary education.

*And what did you do in Arusha?*

I was finding a job in mining.

*When did you arrive in Morogoro?*

2008.

*What is your occupation now?*

I am a shop owner.

*Why did you come to Arusha from the Kilimanjaro area?*

Life was not so good there, so in order to find a better life I came here.

*What did you expect when you came to Arusha?*

I expected to get my own money and to depend on myself instead of on my parents.

*Why did you decide to come to Morogoro?*

I decided to shift to Morogoro because in Arusha it is hard to get some money, so I decided to come to Morogoro and start a business.

*So when you came to Arusha you expected to get more income, but that was difficult?*

Yes.

*But now you came to here, how do you now evaluate it, how do you look back on your choice?*

In Arusha it was difficult to rent even a house for myself, so all the money I got I have to spend it. But here in Morogoro it is different, here I rent my own place and now I am a businessman, so it is different from here than from Arusha.

*Why did you decide to come to Morogoro in specific, because it is far from Arusha?*

I decided to come to Morogoro because I heard people talking about Morogoro as a nice place, so I decided to come here.

*Did you visit Morogoro before you came here to live?*

No.

*How did you think you would find a job here?*

I came with the aim of doing business.

*But you did not arrange anything before you came here?*

I decided from the beginning to be a businessman and I thought that if it will not work out, I would go to another business.

*When you went from Kilimanjaro to Arusha, how did you then think you could find a job?*

When I decided to go to Arusha, in mining places you just need your ID, and they look at you if you are strong enough and then you can get a job.

*When you came to Morogoro, what did you expect about the income?*

I expected that my income would be higher and that sometime I could engage in other business apart from what I am doing now.

*Was it also important for you that you can get a loan or insurance here to migrate?*

No.

*When you look to your income, do you also compare it with others to see how much you earn?*

No, I just look to my own income.

*Did you decide to migrate just by yourself, or did you also talk about it with your parents?*

It is my own decision.

*Did some of your family members migrate?*

My other relatives have shifted from Kilimanjaro, my uncle to Morogoro, others to Mwanza and Dar es Salaam.

*And when you came to Morogoro, did you already know some people who migrated to here?*

Yes.

*Who?*

A friend.

*Did the friend also help with getting a house or a job?*

Yes, he helped me with accommodation until I found my own place.

*What did your family think about your decision to migrate?*

My friends and relatives were not happy when I shifted from Kilimanjaro to Arusha, because mining activities are dangerous, but when I decided to go to Morogoro, they were very happy with that.

*Were there also other things important in your decision to come to Morogoro?*

No.

*Do you still sometimes visit your place of origin?*

Yes.

*How often?*

Once or twice per year.

*If you are there, do you have access to your own house, or where do you stay?*

When I visit Kilimanjaro, I stay in my parents' house.

*Is it possible for you to go back to the Kilimanjaro to live there?*

It is possible if I succeed in my aims.

*Do you want to go back?*

Yes.

*Why?*

I like to be near my parents.

*But what then are your aims that keep you here?*

I want to have my own house at Kilimanjaro, then my own business in Kilimanjaro, and then when I succeed on that, I can go back to live there.

*So you work here to earn money for that?*

Yes, if I get money I would like to build a house and business in Kilimanjaro, but also I would like to have a house and business here, but then I would stay at Kilimanjaro, but hire someone to control the business here.

*How satisfied are you with your life?*

I am dissatisfied.

*Are you more satisfied than before you migrated?*

I am not yet satisfied.

*But before, was it worse or maybe better?*

Life before shifting to here was better.

*Why?*

At Kilimanjaro I was depending on my parents, and now I am depending on myself.

*How is your health changed due to your decision to come here?*

No.

*How satisfied are you with your health?*

It is good.

*How is the housing situation different than before?*

Housing in Kilimanjaro was better. The surroundings here are not good.

*How satisfied are you with your house?*

I am dissatisfied with my house, I have not yet succeeded in my aims, but when I succeed maybe.

*How is your income changed?*

It is changed, but not to high, but compared to where I came from, this is better.

*How satisfied are you with your income?*

Not yet satisfied.

*How satisfied are you with your job?*

I am dissatisfied with my job, which is why I am fighting to have more income and to expand my business.

*So you want to stay in the same business, but just a bigger shop?*

If I have enough income, I will shift from this business to another. I would like to engage in wholesale business.

*How is the contact with your family changed due to your decision?*

The communication is not changed, I am still communicating with them.

*Are you satisfied with it?*

Yes.

*And your social contacts, your friends, did that change?*

Friends have changed.

*Are you happy with it, do you have better or worse contacts?*

I am not happy with it.

*Why not?*

I am dissatisfied with my friends here, because they are more jealous. Where I came from my friends were fine.

*Leisure activities, did that change?*

It have changed a lot.

*How?*

Now I have no time for leisure, I use all my time for the business, but before I had more leisure time compared to now.

*So are you less satisfied with it?*

I am dissatisfied, because I think I need some time for leisure.

*How is Morogoro different from Kilimanjaro with respect to roads and transport?*

Transport in Morogoro is better.

*And hospitals?*

Hospital services in the Kilimanjaro area is better than here.

*And electricity and water?*

There is no difference between the regions; in both places it is available. But in Morogoro water sometimes is a problem, so in Kilimanjaro it is better.

*Which place do you like most?*

Kilimanjaro.

*What do you expect for the future?*

My plans for the future are if I succeed with my plans as a wholesaler, I would take things from one place to another place.

*And other plans, like family, housing?*

I expect to have a family and then to build my own house.



*How old are you?*

24.

*How old were you when you came here?*

22.

*How old were you when you came to Arusha?*

I do not know anymore.

*How many years of education did you take?*

Primary education, so 7 years.

*How many years do you work now?*

2 years in the shop, before 6 years in mining.

*Did you directly start working when you came here?*

Yes, I directly entered the business.

*Are you single, married?*

Single.

*Do you have children?*

No.

## **Respondent 10**

*What is your place of origin?*

Musoma, Mara region.

*Did you live in other places before?*

I lived in Mwanza as well.

*What did you do before you came here?*

I was working as a house girl in Mwanza.

*What is your current occupation?*

First here I was also a house girl, but later on I found a husband and now I am living with my husband and I am not working.

*When did you come to Morogoro?*

In 2008.

*Why did you come to Morogoro?*

The main reason was that I was living with my grandmother. But after finishing primary education, my grandmother was not able to pay school fees for further studies. So I told my grandmother maybe I should go to other places and find some jobs so that I could fulfil my needs. So I decided to come to Morogoro because I was working as a house girl. Someone came and said they had this job, so I just decided to do it.

*And the same counts for Mwanza?*

Yes.

*But why did you come from Mwanza to Morogoro?*

I decided to come from Mwanza to Morogoro because I did not really like my boss, so that is why I decided to change the family and come here.

*How do you evaluate your choice to come to Morogoro?*

Even when I came to Morogoro, I evaluate my decision due to changes of life situation. When I came to the first boss in Morogoro, I thought the situation would be different, but the situation was the same as in Mwanza. So I shifted from the first boss in Morogoro to a second boss in Morogoro and then I met the guy and we got married.

*Did you visit Morogoro before you came here to live?*

No.

*What did you expect about the income in Morogoro?*

I expected to get more income as others, but I did not manage to get such income.

*Was it also important in your decision to come to also get a loan or insurance?*

Loans and insurances were not among the reasons.

*Did you decide to come to Morogoro yourself, or did you also discussed it with your grandmother?*

It was my own decision, but I got approval from my grandmother.

*When you look to your income, do you also compare it with other people?*

I was just looking at my own income and I thought my income was fine and I could send some money to my grandmother. My grandmother took me when I was only 2 months old so she is like my own mother.

*Do you also have other family members that migrated?*

No.

*When you came to Morogoro, did you also know other people that migrated?*

No.

*Were there still other things important in your decision to come here?*

The main reason is the hardship of life. If I would have been born in a wealthy family, I would not have been migrated. But due to the hardship of life, the only way was to

migrate from this place to other places and I thought maybe housework is satisfactory, but it was not.

*Do you sometimes visit your place of origin?*

Yes, I used to go twice per year, but since I have been married I never went there any more.

*When you go there, where do you stay?*

I stayed at my grandmother's house.

*Is it possible for you to go back and live there again?*

I would love to go back when I got money, because I would like to see my grandmother again. But I am too far away.

*So you do not have enough money to go back?*

If I would have money, I would go back to her.

*Would you like to live in Morogoro permanently, or would you like to go somewhere else?*

I am not sure whether I will stay here forever, or whether I will migrate. Now the situation depends upon arguments between my man and me and up to now I was not able to get a child, so this causes problems with my marriage and this can lead to divorce. So I am not sure about my situation.

*How satisfied are you with your life?*

It is somehow satisfactory, but not so much because I would like to go back to my grandmother.

*Are you more satisfied than before you migrated?*

Life here is somehow more satisfactory, but due to the situation that I cannot get a baby, life is very much complicated.

*How is your health changed due to migration?*

My health has changed negatively, I am sick now.

*How is your housing situation changed?*

Housing is better here.

*How is it better?*

Housing here is better because there we only have houses with mud and leaves, while here houses are good and you can get services which are not available in my place of origin.

*How satisfied are you with your housing situation?*

Somehow I am satisfied. The house I am living in now is the house of my mother in law. So it is a good house, but not so nice to live with her.

*And how satisfied are you with the income you and your husband can spend?*

I am not aware of what my husband's income is. We do not talk about that. My husband just gives me some money to buy things, but I do not know what he earns.

*How did the contact with your grandmother change?*

Since I got married, communication with my grandmother changed. The paper on which I had the number I used to get contact with my grandmother is thrown away by my husband, so I cannot have contact any more.

*So you are satisfied with it?*

No.

*And how did the contact with your friends change?*

My home friends were better than the friends I have here. Home friends you can trust, but here you cannot trust a friend.

*And how did your leisure time change?*

I do not have leisure time.

*Are you satisfied with it still?*

I am dissatisfied with it.

*How is Morogoro different from the place of origin with regard to transport and roads?*

Transport is a bit better here than where I came from.

*And is there a difference in hospitals?*

Hospital services in Morogoro are better than at home, at home good hospitals are only located at urban areas which are far away.

*Are there differences in water and electricity services?*

Here it is better, in Musoma there is no electricity and we use river water.

*Which place do you like more, Musoma or Morogoro?*

Musoma.

*What do you expect for the future?*

I would like to study more or to be a business woman.

*How old are you?*

24.

*How many years of education did you take?*

7 years.

*How many years did you work?*

4 years, two in Mwanza and two in Morogoro.

## **Respondent 11**

*What is your place of origin?*

Rural Iringa.

*Besides Iringa and Morogoro, did you live somewhere else?*

I never lived in another place.

*What was your occupation before you came here?*

I was just studying primary education, after completion I came here.

*When did you arrive in Morogoro?*

2008.

*What is your job?*

I am an employee in a shop.

*Why did you decide to come to Morogoro?*

I came here to find a better life.

*What is a better life?*

To be able to help the family and fulfil the needs.

*How do you evaluate your decision to come here?*

I am not yet succeeded with my plans.

*Before you came here, how did you think you would find a job?*

After the completion of primary education someone came to Iringa and asked to a house girl. Then I decided to come here and become a house girl. But after a while I changed my job. But still I want to save my money to do further studying because I want to become a nurse.

*Did you visit Morogoro before you came here?*

No, I have never been in Morogoro before.

*Was it also important that you could get a loan or insurance here?*

Getting loans or insurance is not important for me. My main reason is to have a better life because I was dissatisfied with my life before.

*When you look to your income, do you also compare it with other people?*

I used to compare my income with others, but when comparing I see my income is a bit low, but I am satisfied, because this is just what I get.

*With whom do you compare it?*

I compare my income with other house girls, because the income did not change when I started to work in this shop.

*Was this also important in your decision to come here?*

In Iringa there are many jobs, but there is very little income, so that is why I came to Morogoro.

*Did other family members migrate as well?*

Yes, my other relatives migrated to Iringa urban.

*Before you came to Morogoro, did you know other people living here?*

I knew some people who migrated to here, but up to know I did not even met one of them.

*Do you sometimes visit the place of origin?*

Yes, I go about once a year.

*Where do you stay when you are there?*

I used to stay in my parents' house.

*Is it possible for you to go back there to live there?*

There is the possibility, if my plans for a future in Morogoro fail.

*Do you sometimes want to go back?*

No, life is too complicated in Iringa.

*Do you want to live in Morogoro permanently or do you want to go somewhere else?*

I am not sure if I want to live in Morogoro all my life, but if I am successful, then I might shift from Morogoro to another place.

*How satisfied are you with your life?*

I am dissatisfied. Up to now I did not know what I was doing, what I want, I could not complete my plans.

*But are you now more or less satisfied?*

I am satisfied with the life in Morogoro because I can have some income here.

*How did your health change due to migration?*

My health is changed because in Iringa the weather is not good for me and I did not have money and if you do not have money, you will not feel fine.

*How satisfied are you with your health?*

I am satisfied, I get income and the weather is better.

*How is your house changed?*

There is a big difference between the houses of Morogoro and Iringa. This house where I live now is better, there they just have some very basic materials as mud, and here it is better.

*Are you satisfied with your housing situation?*

I am satisfied, but not too much because I am not sure whether this is the place where I want to live.

*How satisfied are you with your income?*

I am satisfied because I can fulfil my own needs like food and so on.

*How satisfied are you with your job?*

I am not yet satisfied, because I still want to go for further studies.

*Did the contact with your family change due to migration?*

It is not so much communication; I do not have the money with it.

*Are you satisfied with the communication?*

Yes.

*And your friends did that change due to migration?*

Yes, there is a difference, my friends in Iringa only made plans about agriculture, but here they are planning about what is the better job. So there is a difference.

*Are you satisfied with the friends you have now?*

Yes.

*Do you also have possibility to leisure activities?*

In Iringa there was no leisure time, always agriculture. At least here I can have some leisure time; it is not enough, but at least something.

*And how satisfied are you with the leisure time you have?*

I am satisfied.

*When you compare Morogoro to Iringa, how is it different with roads and transport?*

Morogoro is better than Iringa.

*Hospitals?*

Hospitals in Morogoro are better, they improve, while the hospitals of Iringa does not improve.

*And electricity and water, how did that change?*

In Iringa in my place there is no electricity, while here there is electricity.

*Which place do you like more, Morogoro or Iringa?*

Morogoro.

*You already said you want to study, but what more plans do you have for the future?*

Apart from further studies, if God wishes maybe I find a partner and start a family.

*How old are you?*

18.

*How many years of education did you take?*

Primary, so 7 years.

*How many years did you work now?*

I worked for two years.

*Are you single/married?*

Single.

*Do you have children?*

No.

## **Respondent 12**

*Where are you from?*

Matombo village, Morogoro region.

*Did you also live somewhere else?*

I have been in Dar es Salaam for a short time.

*What was your occupation before you came here?*

In Matombo I was studying primary education and after completion my parents were not able to take me for further studies, so I engaged in agriculture. After that I decided to come to Morogoro.

*What did you do in Dar es Salaam?*

In Dar es Salaam I engaged in business, but it was not paying, so I decided to come back.

*And how long did you stay in Dar es Salaam?*

3 months.

*And when did you arrive in Morogoro?*

6 months ago.

*What kind of job do you have now?*

I am a salooner, doing hair for men. It is not my saloon but I am employed there, and I work there with another person. Everything we get we have to divide it between our two and the boss, and of course the boss gets more money.

*Why did you decide to come to Morogoro?*

I decided to come to Morogoro because I thought Morogoro would be a better starting point, but if I get other plans, I still can move from Morogoro to other places.

*And what is a better starting point?*

I thought to have my own shop or to be a motorcycle driver and if possible to go for further studies.

*Why did you first go to Dar es Salaam?*

I went to Dar es Salaam because there was an uncle of mine there, but when I arrived there life was hard, so I decided to come back.

*How do you evaluate your decision to come to Morogoro?*

My decision to come to Morogoro is somehow good, but life did not much change. But if I go back to Matombo life is even harder.

*How did you think you would find a job here?*

I decided to come to Morogoro because there was a relative of mine here, and he told me that I just come and try out and then if it works it works and if not I go somewhere else.

*And who was the relative?*

My uncle.

*And did he help with getting a job?*

My uncle helped me with getting an accommodation, but not with finding a job.

*What did you expect about the income in Morogoro?*

I expected my income to increase, but up to now, the income is still the same, there is no change.

*Was it important for the decision to come here that you could get a loan or insurance?*

It is among the reasons, but up to now I cannot get a loan here because I have nothing as a guarantee, so I cannot get it.

*When you look to your income, do you also look to how much you earn in comparison with others?*

My income is a bit low compared to others.



*With whom do you compare it?*

I compare it with other salooners, but the saloon which I am working is not improved compared with others. So maybe that is why I have a lower income still.

*Was this also a reason to come here?*

Income in Matombo was low compared to other places, so yes.

*How did you come to the decision to migrate to Morogoro, only by yourself or also in talking with your parents?*

It is my own decision, not that of my parents.

*What did your parents think about it?*

My parents agreed with it.

*Were there still other things important in the decision to come here?*

No.

*Do you sometimes visit your place of origin?*

I have been there once.

*When you go there, where do you then stay?*

I stay in my parents' house.

*Is it possible to live there again, to go back?*

If the situation of my life will continue like this, I may go back home, because there will be no other way round to stay in Morogoro.

*Do you want to go back sometimes?*

No, if I will succeed I see no reason to return home, but I will keep on going to visit my home, but not to live there permanently.

*Would you like to live in Morogoro permanently, or go somewhere else?*

It depends on the situation.

*How satisfied are you with your life?*

I am dissatisfied with my life right now, because life is still hard for me.

*Are you more satisfied than before you migrated?*

If I compare life in Matombo and here, here it is hard, but it is a bit satisfying, because here you still earn a small amount of money, but in Matombo it is not easy to earn anything at all.

*How did your health change due to migration?*

There is no big difference on my health between here and before, I just can go to a hospital if there is anything.

*Are you satisfied with your health?*

No, I am dissatisfied.

*Why not?*

Due to my low income.

*How did your housing situation change due to migration?*

It is different, Morogoro is better.

*So how satisfied are you?*

More satisfied here.

*How satisfied are you with your income?*

I am dissatisfied.

*How satisfied are you with your job?*

I am dissatisfied; I just do it because I have no other job.

*What kind of job do you like to have?*

I would like to be a shop owner, to have a shop on my own or to have a motorcycle and to drive it here and there.

*How is the contact with the family changed due to migration?*

The contact with the family is still good.

*How satisfied are you with it?*

I am satisfied, but I would like for the communication with my family to increase.

*And did your social contacts change due to migration?*

My friends are the same, but there are other friends which if you engage with them you will fall in bad hands because those are bad groups. But I am not engaging with those people.

*Are you satisfied with your friends?*

Yes, I am satisfied.

*And did your possibilities for leisure time and activities change due to migration?*

My leisure time has not changed much. Here there is not much time for leisure, but also in Matombo I do not have the possibilities. Here due to low income, and I cannot spend the little income I have and also time limit, when we close the saloon it is already late so I go home, eat and sleep.

*How satisfied are you with it?*

It is all right, I am satisfied with it.

*How is Morogoro different from the place of origin with regard to transport?*

In Morogoro transport and roads are better than in Matombo.

*And hospital services?*

Hospital services in Morogoro are better.

*And electricity and water services?*

In Matombo there are no electricity services and we use river water, so here it is better.

*Which place do you like more, Morogoro or your place of origin?*

I like Morogoro more, because there are many possibilities of getting income, compared to Matombo.

*What do you want for the future?*

My future depends on my income, if I would get more income, then I will decide what to do, but for now I cannot say anything.

*How old are you?*

26.

*How many years of education did you have?*

7 years.

*How many years did you work now?*

3 months in Morogoro, in Dar es Salaam also 3 months, so 6 months, and before that in agriculture.

*Are you single or married?*

I am single.

*Do you have children?*

Yes, one child.

*Do you also live with the child?*

No, the child lives with the mother.

*Do you still see the child?*

Yes.

*Do you also pay for the child?*

Yes, if I get some income I use it to help them.

### **Respondent 13**

*What is your place of origin?*

Haubi, it is far from here, Dodoma region.

*Did you also live in other places?*

I came here directly from school.

*When did you come here?*

I came here in 1985.

*What did you do before you came here?*

I was studying.

*What kind of job do you have now?*

First, I was a civil servant for the government as mechanical engineer. Then I decided to quite the job and engage on my own business. So now, I am self-employed in civil works, to build houses, so construction.

*Why did you decide to come to Morogoro?*

I was looking for a good life.

*But what is a good life?*

Good life is to be in between. You cannot depend just on agriculture, or just on your occupation. You will have some income that is satisfying you, without just depending on agriculture.

*How do you evaluate your decision to come to Morogoro?*

First I wanted to have a better life, but also in Morogoro the contacts with different people is more, so exchange of new ideas and things like that.

*How did you think you would find a job when you came to here?*

Before I came here, I knew I would get a job, I saw Morogoro is a good place. When I came I started at Sokoine University of agriculture and also Tanzanian tobacco processing. But afterwards I decided to be self-employed. But when I came here I already had a job.

*What did you expect about the income in Morogoro?*

Before I decided to come to Morogoro I thought income in Morogoro would be higher, due to industries, which were available in Morogoro. But the situation now has changed because all the industries have been closed.

*Was it also important that you could get a loan or insurance to come to Morogoro?*

Yes.

*When you look to your income, do you also compare your income with other people?*

I used to compare my income with others and when I see that others had higher income, I plan like what should I do to reach the same income as others have.

*With whom do you compare your income?*

I compare my income in two ways. First as a peasant because I am also engaged in agricultural activities and then I also compare my income with other constructors.

*How did you come to your decision to come to Morogoro, alone or also in deliberation with the family?*

I decided it myself.

*Did also other family members migrate?*

Yes, many migrated from rural to urban, both for studying as well as for working.

*Did they also move to Morogoro?*

No.

*Did you also know other people who migrated to Morogoro?*

Yes.

*Did they also help you with finding a house or job?*

No, they did not help me.

*What did your family think about your decision to come here?*

When you decide to go from one place to another, you make the decision yourself. You have a target what you want to do somewhere there.

*Are there also other things important in your decision to come here?*

Another reason, which makes me decide to come to Morogoro, is the situation in the rural area. In villages you depend on rainfall, if there is no rainfall, then no agriculture and no income. But in Morogoro town, if there is no rainfall you can engage in other activities and still have income.

*Do you sometimes visit your place of origin?*

Yes, twice a year.

*When you are there, where do you stay?*

I stay in my own house.

*And do you also have cattle or lands there?*

I have goats and I have some land for making crops for eating.

*Is it also possible for you to go back there and live there?*

If my targets will be met I may go back and stay there.

*Do you want to go back?*

Yes.

*Why do you want to go back?*

Because it is my home.

*How satisfied are you with your life?*

I am satisfied with my life because I can meet my everyday basic needs.

*Is it better than before you migrated?*

Yes.

*How did your health change due to migration?*

My health is not changed, but normally it depends on the weather.

*Are you satisfied with your health?*

Yes.

*And your housing situation how did that change due to migration?*

Housing is the same from here and the home place.

*But do you own a house here?*

No, I rent a house. I own a house at my home place.

*Are you happy with the house?*

I am not happy; I want to have my own house, and not to rent it.

*Why then did you decide to have a house in your place of origin and not here?*

Here I did not yet managed to have land. At home I started my life. So I already had a house before I came here.

*How did you get that house then?*

I managed to build a house there, because at the village we build simple houses from mud and leaves.

*Did your income change when you came here?*

Yes.

*How?*

My income is increased.

*Are you satisfied with the income you have?*

I am dissatisfied with my income even though it is increased. I want to have more income to do more other things.

*How satisfied are you with your job?*

I am not much satisfied because my plan is to own a big plantation for business crops and not only for crops for eating.

*How is the contact with your family changed due to migration?*

Communication is not changed.

*Are you satisfied with the contact you have?*

I would like to increase the amount of communication.

*How did your social contacts change due to migration?*

My rural friends have not changed, but the friends in town they changed due to situations. If you have money you have many friends and if you have no money you have no friends.

*How satisfied are you with your friends?*

I am dissatisfied.

*And how did your leisure time and activities change due to migration?*

In the rural areas time for leisure is normally after completion of agricultural activities. But here in town leisure time is normally on Saturday and Sunday.

*Are you satisfied with your leisure time?*

Yes because people normally have leisure time at those days. But I would like to have more leisure time.

*How is Morogoro different from your place of origin with regard of transport and roads?*

Roads and transport situation is a bit different, but not much. In Morogoro there are mud roads and there are also mud roads in my place of origin. But the high ways in my place of origin are very far, while here they are close.

*How are the hospitals different?*

The hospital services in Morogoro are somehow better than in my place of origin, because in Houbi they have missionary hospitals and the government hospital is 48 kilometres away from the place, so far away. So in Morogoro it is somehow better, but not so much better still.

*And is there a difference with regard to electricity and water?*

Electricity is just the same, also in Houbi there is electricity. And water here is somehow better, but in summer time water is a problem, which is the same in Houbi.

*Which place do you like more, Morogoro or Houbi?*

I like Morogoro more, because here I can meet my targets. Here I can start agricultural activities also.

*What do you still expect from the future?*

If I can manage to get a loan and to start the completion of my plan of getting a big plantation of business crops then I would be happy.

*How old are you?*

47.

*And how many years of education did you take?*

Eleven, primary and secondary.

*How many years did you work in total?*

I started at 1982, so 28 years.

*Are you single or married?*

I am married.

*Do you have children?*

I have four children, they are all studying still.

## **Respondent 14**

*What is your place of origin?*

Kibaha, Pwani region.

*Besides your place of origin and Morogoro, did you also live in other places?*

Yes, in Dar es Salaam.

*How long did you live there?*

2 years and after that I came here.

*What was your occupation in Dar es Salaam?*

I was showing television programs.

*In your place of origin, what was your occupation?*

I was selling fruits.

*When did you arrive in Morogoro?*

I arrived in 2003.

*What kind of job do you have now?*

I sell second hand clothes.

*Why did you decide to migrate to Dar es Salaam?*

I decided to go to Dar es Salaam because it was hard for me at my home place.

*What did you expect when you came to Dar es Salaam?*

When I was going to Dar es Salaam, I expected to have a better life in comparison with where I came from.

*How did you expect to find a job in Dar es Salaam?*

I had relatives and friends in Dar es Salaam, so I thought they would help me.

*Why did you decide to come to Morogoro?*

I decided to move from Dar es Salaam to Morogoro because life was too expensive and I just got a low income.

*But why did you choose to come to Morogoro in special?*

When I was still studying, I came once to Morogoro. So I was already aware of the lifestyle of Morogoro. Therefore, when I went to Dar es Salaam and saw that life is hard there, I decided to come here because I was already aware of the situation here.

*How do you evaluate your decision to come here?*

I thank God because here my life has changed in comparison with my life in Dar es Salaam. It is not much better here, but somehow it is better because I can meet my basic needs like clothing, food and shelter.

*How did you think you would find a job in Morogoro?*

I also have a brother and friends in Morogoro, so I thought if I decide to come to Morogoro, then they would help me. So that is why I came here.

*And did they help with finding a job?*

My relatives and friends helped me with getting accommodation and food, but the job I found myself.

*What did you expect about the income in Morogoro?*

I did not think about income. I was aware of how other people live, but for income it is just important to be able to meet my basic needs, clothes and shelter.

*When you look to your income, do you also compare it with other people to see how much you earn?*

I normally do not compare my income with others.

*When you came here, was it also important to be able to get a loan or insurance?*

No, it was not part of the reason for me to come here, but if I would manage to get a loan now it would be great. But when I came here it was not important for me.

*How did you come to the decision to migrate, alone or also with talking about it with your parents?*

The decision to migrate to here was my own decision. When my father passed away, I decided to go from the rural area to the urban in order to be able to help myself instead of being a burden for my mother.

*And what does your mother think about it?*

I just left without informing my mother. I only informed my younger brother and sisters that I was going to Dar es Salaam, but they thought I was just going and coming back in the evening. But I did not come back.

*Are there still other things important in the decision to come here?*

Apart from those reasons, I decided to migrate because I was feeling sorry for my mother and I did not want to be a burden for my mother. I also wanted to have a better life and because I was getting older I wanted to have my own life.

*Do you sometimes visit your place of origin?*

I visit it about once per year.

*When you are there, where do you stay, in your own house, or the house of your mother?*

If I visit Kibaha, I stay at my mother's house

*Is it possible to return to Kibaha?*

There is the possibility that I will stay at Kibaha, but only if I can get some income there by having a business. But without income it is not possible.

*Do you sometimes want to go back?*

Yes.

*Why do you want to go back?*

I will be able to go if I get income, because I do not want to be a burden to my family.

*But you like your place of origin more than Morogoro?*

I prefer Kibaha because the weather is better there than in Morogoro

*How satisfied are you with your life?*

I am satisfied with my life for some extent, but not much. Maybe I am satisfied for 45-50%.

*And what makes that you are satisfied and why not?*

I am satisfied due to the lifestyle in Morogoro. Food is not so expensive and also renting a house is not so difficult. And there is solidarity, if they see you are a newcomer they will help you. In Dar es Salaam people do not help each other.

*But why are you not really happy?*

I am not much satisfied because I am getting older and I want to start my own family. But due to the level of my income I am still not able to manage to start a family and also I want to get something for my mother in Kibaha, but I did not succeed in that yet.

*Are you more or less satisfied than before you came to Morogoro?*

I am satisfied here because here there are more challenges. In Kibaha they saw me just as a child, so I could not do so much there.

*Did your health change due to migration?*

I reduced my weight, first I was fatter.

*And you liked it more when you are fat?*

No, I like it more like this, when I am a bit thinner.

*So you are satisfied?*

Yes, I am satisfied with my health.

*And how did your housing situation change due to migration?*

The housing condition in Morogoro is better than Kibaha. But the housing in Morogoro is still not good, because here I have to pay rent and in Kibaha not.

*And how satisfied are you with your house?*

I am dissatisfied because sometimes there is some harassment with the house owner.

*How satisfied are you with your income?*

I am dissatisfied because there are more basic needs, which I cannot meet with my income.

*How satisfied are you with your job?*

I am dissatisfied; in the future I hope to change my job if I succeed to get some income.

*What kind of job do you want?*

I would like to expand my business or to get employed and work in any kind of job.

*Did your contact with the family change due to coming to Morogoro?*

The contact with my family is good, I communicate with them every day.

*Are you satisfied with it?*

Yes.

*How did your social network change due to migration?*

My friends from Kibaha were not much engaged in development ideas. The friends that I have now are much busy with development.

*Are you satisfied with it?*

Yes, I like my friends here very much.

*And leisure activities did that change due to migration?*

In Morogoro I have more leisure time than in Kibaha. But in Kibaha it is better when you want to go out and do something nice.

*So what do you like more?*

I am satisfied with the condition in Morogoro.

*If you compare Morogoro with Kibaha with regard to transport, what is better?*

Roads and transport facilities are better in Morogoro. In Kibaha there is only one road.

*And hospitals, is there a difference?*

In Kibaha there are better hospital services than in Morogoro.

*Is there a difference between Kibaha and Morogoro with regard of electricity and water?*

Electricity services in Kibaha are better, in Morogoro sometimes there are problems. But the water services are just the same.

*What do you expect for the future?*

I would like to have a better life, but the main is income.

*How old are you?*

28.

*How many years of education did you take?*

Standard 7 years.

*How many years did you work in total?*

I worked for 10 years.

*Are you still single?*

I am single.

*Do you have children?*

Yes, three children.

*Where do the children live?*

They are living with their grandmother.

*And do you still have contact with the mother?*

No.

*Do you also give money to this children?*

Sometimes I send some money to them.

*Do you also visit your children sometimes?*

My children are coming here sometimes, but I never go to them.



## **Respondent 15**

*What is your place of origin?*

Iringa region.

*What did you do before you came here?*

I was farming.

*Did you also live in other places than Iringa and Morogoro?*

Dodoma as well.

*How long did you live in Dodoma?*

I lived there for six years.

*What did you do there?*

I was engaged in selling fish.

*When did you come to Morogoro?*

I do not remember, it is a long time ago.

*What is your occupation?*

I sell fruit.

*Why did you decide to go to Dodoma?*

I just wanted to find a good life.

*Why did you move from Dodoma to Morogoro?*

My child lived in Morogoro and he was sick, so I came here to help him. The child got an operation here and now he is doing fine again.

*How long is the child already in Morogoro?*

About ten years.

*How do you like it to live in Morogoro?*

I like it.

*When you came here, did you also expected to come here to work, or just take care of your child?*

I just wanted to look for my child, but then I decided to settle here because my child also has a lot of children, so I take care of the children as well.

*Do you still go back to Iringa sometimes to visit it there?*

Yes, last year I went there.

*Where do you then stay if you go there?*

My parents past away, but their house is still there. So I stay there when I am in Iringa.

*Is it possible to go back to there and live there?*

Yes, it is possible. But I stay here to find life.

*So you do not want to go back?*

I would like to go back, but I do not have money or any job to do there.

*Why do you want to go back?*

That is where I was born and where my life is.

*How satisfied are you with your life?*

I am dissatisfied.

*Why not?*

Life is so tough. I am dissatisfied.

*Are you more or less satisfied than before you came here?*

Life here is somehow good, but still not good.

*Did your health change?*

Yes, somehow it is better.

*Are you satisfied with your health?*

Yes.

*And your housing situation, did that change due to migration?*

The house here is good. I rent a house, which has all facilities like electricity and water.

*Are you satisfied with your house?*

Yes, but the problem is that it is not my own house, so if the owner decides we have to move, then we just have to move.

*Did your income changed?*

Somehow it is good.

*Are you satisfied with it?*

Yes.

*Are you satisfied with the job you have?*

I am dissatisfied because I do not have a permit to sell here.

*How is your contact with your family?*

We communicate by telephone.

*Are you satisfied with it?*

I am not really satisfied.

*Did your social network change due to migration to here?*

Here in Morogoro I have fewer friends compared to Iringa.

*And how satisfied are you with it?*

No.

*And did your leisure time change due to coming here?*

I do not have time to rest; I sell my stuff until the night.

*What do you think about it?*

I am satisfied, because there is no other way.

*How is Morogoro different compared to Iringa?*

In Iringa there is no electricity, no transport, but there is a hospital. In Morogoro everything is available.

*Which place do you like more, Morogoro or Iringa?*

Morogoro.

*What do you expect for the future?*

I wish to have a house to live.

*How old are you?*

50.

*How old were you when you came to Morogoro?*

42.

*How many years of education did you take?*

I only studied one year.

*How many years do you work?*

In Dodoma I worked for 7 years, and this business 7 years. So in total 14 years.

*Are you still married?*

I am single and have five children.

## **Respondent 16**

*What is your place of origin?*

Mbeya region.

*Did you also live in other places?*

No.

*What did you do when you were living in Mbeya?*

I was a businesswoman, I sold bananas.

*When did you come to Morogoro?*

2008.

*What kind of job do you have now?*

I am still a businesswoman, selling my bananas.

*Why did you come to Morogoro?*

I wanted to change my environment.

*Why?*

I followed my husband. My husband was transferred to Morogoro. My husband was in Morogoro and I was alone in Mbeya. Then my husband said to me to come here, and that is better.

*How do you evaluate it here?*

I like it. The life here is good.

*How did you think you would find a job here?*

We just left our jobs at the village and were looking here for a new job.

*Did you visit Morogoro before you came here to live?*

It is the first time to come here.

*What did you expect about the income in Morogoro?*

The life there was so tough, and here somehow it is good.

*Was it also important that you could get a loan or insurance here?*

No, I just followed my husband.

*When you look to your income, do you also compare it with others?*

I do not earn much, but a little is enough for my family. But to earn more or less depends on the capital, sometimes the capital is difficult to get. There is a fluctuation of the business.

*Did other family members migrate as well?*

No, I came alone with my husband.

*When you came here, did you know other people who migrated to Morogoro?*

Yes, they are there.

*Whom do you know?*

They come from the same village.

*Did they also help with getting a house or a job?*

I found my job by myself.

*What did the family think about the decision to come here?*

They agreed with me.

*Do you still visit Mbeya?*

I did not come back.

*Is it possible for you to return to Mbeya and live there again?*

I cannot refuse my home, so I would like to go back. But you know, life is hard, sometimes I get money, sometimes not. If the time come that I do not have any capital

any more to do business, then we go back home. Because I stay in a rented house, so if we do not get income anymore, we have to go back.

*But what makes then that you stay here and not go back to Mbeya?*

I still need to earn money first, the life is so tough.

*Do you want to live in Morogoro permanently, or return home?*

I do not like to live in Morogoro permanently. I would like to go back to Mbeya.

*How satisfied are you with your life?*

I am comfortable.

*What makes it good and what makes it less good?*

I thank God that I can get money for food. So there is no problem.

*Are you more or less happy with your life than before you migrated?*

The life here is good. I can get more money here than in rural. So life here is good.

*Did your health change due to migration?*

No.

*How satisfied are you with your health?*

No, I am not so much satisfied.

*Did your housing situation change due to migration?*

I live here in a rented house. The life here is good; there is electricity, water, more than in rural.

*Are you satisfied with your house?*

Yes.

*And are you satisfied with your income?*

Yes.

*Are you happy with the job you have?*

No, I just do it to get money.

*What kind of job would you like to have?*

I would like to have a fixed place where I can sell my commodities. Because now I am just walking with my shop, that makes me tired.

*Did the contact with the family change because you went to Morogoro?*

No, there is a close communication.

*Are you satisfied with it?*

The communication is good. It is better to live far from each other. If we live close to each other, we can get fights. Now we live far from each other, so that is better.

*How is your social contact changed due to migration?*

We communicate as before.

*Are you satisfied with it?*

Yes, we use telephone a lot. So I am happy with it.

*Did your leisure time and activities change due to coming here?*

I am so tired; I do not have time for leisure.

*So you are dissatisfied with it?*

No, I am just tired, I work the whole day.

*If you compare Morogoro with Mbeya, what is better with regard to roads and transport?*

Here it is better.

*And hospitals?*

Also better here.

*And electricity and water services?*

There is no electricity in Mbeya, and here there is.

*Which place do you like more, Mbeya or Morogoro?*

I cannot decide. But every time when my life changes, I go back to Mbeya.

*What do you expect for the future?*

I would like to go back home to my family.

*How old are you?*

23.

*How many years of education did you take?*

Standard 7 years.

*How many years did you work in total?*

10 years, 8 years in the rural and 2 years here.

*Are you married?*

Yes.

*And do you have children?*

I have three children, from 10 years, 7 years and 4 years.

## **Respondent 17**

*What is your place of origin?*

Mahenge, Morogoro region.

*Did you also live in other places?*

No.

*What was your occupation before you came here?*

I was a small businessman selling bananas, chicken, and chips.

*When did you arrive in Morogoro?*

2002.

*What is your occupation now?*

I am a shop seller, I am employed.

*Why did you come to Morogoro?*

To find a better life.

*And what is a better life then?*

I decided to come to Morogoro to find life, because I would not like to live with my parents forever and to have my own life.

*How do you evaluate your decision to come here?*

My decision to come to Morogoro is fine.

*How did you think you would find a job here?*

When I came from Mahenge to Morogoro I came to work. My boss came to Mahenge and was looking to a person to work in the shop. So I came as a shop seller.

*But why then did you come here?*

I was coming to try life. If it was too difficult, I would have returned home.

*Did you visit Morogoro before you came here?*

No.

*What did you expect about the income in Morogoro?*

I did not expect to get any income. What I expected was to live with other people and get new ideas so that you can live.

*Was it also important that you could get a loan or insurance here?*

Before coming getting loans or insurance was not among the reasons.

*Do you also compare your income with others?*

I only look to my own income. Others own many shops and have more income, so I better just look at my own income.

*How did you come to the decision to migrate, alone or also with talking about it with your parents?*

Migration to here was my own decision, but my parents approved and asked what I was going to do in Morogoro, but after explaining it, it was all right.

*Did other family members migrate as well?*

Others migrated from Mahenge to other places like Dar es Salaam.

*Did you also know other people before you came here?*

Yes.

*Whom did you know?*

My classmates.

*Did they also help with getting a job or a house?*

They did not help me, but the shop owner already offered me a job and a place to stay as well.

*Were there still more things important in the decision to come here?*

No.

*Do you sometimes visit your place of origin?*

Yes, I go once per year.

*When you are there, where do you stay?*

I stay at my parents' house.

*Is it possible for you if you want to return to go and live there again?*

There is the possibility, but also not. If there is a misunderstanding between me and my boss, then I might need to return home. But if things will be going well, then there is no need to return.

*So would you prefer to stay in Morogoro permanently or go home?*

I would like to live in Morogoro, but also in other places. It depends on my income.

*How satisfied are you with your life?*

I am somehow satisfied, but not much. In percentage maybe 40 percent.

*What makes that you are satisfied and what not?*

I am dissatisfied because from the time that I came from Mahenge to here, time passed by and I thought up to this time I would have managed to have my own shop. But that is not the case. I only managed to have my own room. So that is what makes me dissatisfied.

*And are you more or less satisfied than before you came here?*

I am satisfied with life here, because in Mahenge I had nothing, while now I have a bed, sofa's, a phone. And I like music and here I have a radio.

*How did your health change due to migration?*

Health did not change.

*Are you satisfied with your health?*

Yes, I am satisfied, because I do not want to be more fat or thinner.

*How did your housing situation change?*

The housing condition in Morogoro is better than Mahenge.

*And you have your own room, or rent a room?*

I rent a room.

*And are you satisfied with it?*

Yes, I am satisfied. I stayed there now already for two years, so it is good.

*Did your income change due to coming here?*

My income did change. In Mahenge I was not paid, while here I have income.

*Are you satisfied with your income?*

I am not so much satisfied, but I can meet my basic needs and also sometimes I can send some money to my parents at Mahenge.

*How satisfied are you with your job?*

I am satisfied, but if I could get a job with more income then I would change it. But if I look back at my educational background then this job is satisfactory.

*How did the contact with your family change?*

Communication is good.

*So you are satisfied with it?*

Yes.

*How did your social contacts change due to migration?*

My friends have changed when I came to here. My friends in Mahenge were just telling stories. Here my friends are also busy working and there is the exchange of development ideas here.

*So are you satisfied with it?*

Yes.

*How did your leisure activities change due to migration?*

In Mahenge there was more leisure time, here there is not leisure time. But because I am working and I get some income, there is no problem.

*Are you satisfied with your leisure time?*

Yes, I prefer to get income.

*How is Morogoro different from Mahenge with regard of roads and transport?*

In Mahenge roads and transport services are not good.

*And hospitals?*

In Morogoro it is better.

*And electricity and water services?*

In Mahenge there is water, but electricity is a problem. In Morogoro electricity is fine, but water is sometimes a problem.

*Which place do you like more, Morogoro or your place of origin?*

I like Morogoro because I earn a living here. But also I like Mahenge, because it is my motherland.

*What do you expect for the future?*

I would like to have a shop of my own, to build my own house, to get a car and to start a family and get children.

*Are you single?*

Yes.

*And do you have children?*

No.

*How old are you?*

27.

*How many years of education did you take?*

7 years, primary.

*How many years did you work in total?*

8 years.



## **Respondent 18**

*Where do you come from?*

Kilimanjaro.

*Did you also live in other places than just Kilimanjaro and Morogoro?*

I have lived in Arusha and Dar es Salaam.

*What did you do there?*

In Dar es Salaam I was selling in a shop and in Arusha I was selling second hand clothes.

*How long did you live in those places?*

In Arusha I lived for two years and in Dar es Salaam three years.

*And what did you do before you migrated?*

I was studying and after completion I was dealing in cattle.

*When did you come to Morogoro?*

I came in 1993.

*What is your job now?*

I own a shop.

*Why did you decide to come to Morogoro?*

In Arusha I saw life was hard, so I got employed as a seller at the shop of my brother-in-law. So that is why I shifted to Dar es Salaam. After three years I went back to Kilimanjaro and stay for one month and then I decided to come to Morogoro.

*And why did you go to Arusha?*

I decided to go to Arusha because I thought going to Arusha will change my income.

*And did it?*

That was not the case, life continued to be hard for me.

*Then you went to Dar es Salaam, but why did you leave Dar es Salaam again?*

After getting income at the shop where I worked, I decided to shift from Dar es Salaam to Morogoro to have my own shop and own income instead of being employed.

*So you knew that you could get a shop here?*

Yes.

*So you arranged all that before you came here?*

I got some income in Dar es Salaam and I decided to go back to Kilimanjaro where I sold some cattle and with that increased my income and also my father gave me some money. Here I had some relatives. So before coming to here I knew that I could open a shop.

*But why did you not stay in Dar es Salaam?*

I compared life in Morogoro and Dar es Salaam and I saw that life in Dar es Salaam is harder than Morogoro, so I decide to come and live here.

*And how do you evaluate your decision to come here?*

It is profitable.

*Did you visit Morogoro before you came here to live?*

Yes.

*And what did you expect about the income in Morogoro?*

I expected higher income in Morogoro.

*Was it also important that you could get a loan or insurance here?*

No.

*When you look to your income, do you also compare it with others?*

I only look to my own income.

*How did you decide to come here, you talked about it with your family or you decided it alone?*

It was my own decision. I left school and escaped to Arusha, then Dar es Salaam and then here.

*Did other family members migrate as well?*

Yes.

*Also to Morogoro?*

Yes, to Morogoro and Dar es Salaam.

*Who were your relatives living here before you came here?*

My brothers and sisters. But they all have their own activities.

*Did they also help with getting a house or work?*

My relatives gave me accommodation and food until I was able to stand on my own.

*What did your family think about your decision to come here?*

They think it is satisfactory, because I also can help my younger brothers and sisters.

*Were there still other things important in your decision to come here?*

The main reason is to find a better life and more income, and that I succeeded in.

*Do you sometimes visit your place of origin?*

I usually visit Kilimanjaro once a year, but if there is a problem then I also go there. A few days ago my father was ill, so I went there and picked him up to give him a treatment here.

*Where do you stay when you are there?*

I have my own house.

*When did you get it?*

After coming to Morogoro.

*Do you also own land or cattle?*

I have both land and cattle.

*When did you get that?*

I already had some cattle before, but I also acquired some cattle after I came to Morogoro.

*Is it possible to return home to live there again?*

No, there is no possibility to live there again, only to visit it.

*But do you want to go back?*

I cannot go and live there.

*Why not?*

I migrated to here to find income and better life. Income is available here, but not there. So I cannot go back.

*Do you want to live in Morogoro permanently?*

Yes, I like to live in Morogoro.

*How satisfied are you with your life?*

I am satisfied with my life in Morogoro because I can save some income, I can send my children to school and I can manage to get my basic needs.

*Are you more satisfied with your life than before you came here?*

Yes.

*How did your health change due to migration?*

My health has changed because now I am getting older. But I am satisfied with my health.

*How did your housing situation change due to migration?*

Housing condition is better here.

*Do you also have your own house here?*

Yes.

*How satisfied are you with it?*

I am dissatisfied. If God wishes, I would like to have a better house.

*How satisfied are you with your job?*

I am satisfied, but not much. I would like to develop more.

*How much contact do you have with your family?*

The communication is good and I am satisfied with it.

*And your friends did that change due to migration?*

My friends from Kilimanjaro and here differ. In Kilimanjaro I have only few friends here.

My friends in Morogoro I meet them every day or in two days and I like them, because we face many challenges together.

*Are you satisfied with it?*

Yes.

*And leisure time activities did that change due to migration?*

Leisure time has changed, in Kilimanjaro I have more time for leisure. Here I am always busy.

*But how satisfied are you with it?*

I am satisfied, because I am busy to increase my income, so that is all right.

*When you compare Kilimanjaro with Morogoro, how is it different with regard to roads and transport?*

In Kilimanjaro the transport facilities are not good.

*And hospitals?*

Hospitals services are satisfying there. You have many hospitals in Kilimanjaro.

*Is it better then here?*

The hospital services in Kilimanjaro are better than in Morogoro.

*And is there a difference in electricity and water services?*

Water services in Kilimanjaro are better, but electricity services are almost the same.

*Which place do you like more, Kilimanjaro or Morogoro?*

I like Kilimanjaro because it is my home place. But I like Morogoro more, because it is the place where I can get income.

*What do you expect for the future?*

I have many plans for future, but the problem is the income. I do not have enough income for my plans.

*How old are you?*

38.

*How old are you when you left to Morogoro?*

21.

*How many years of education did you take?*

7 years primary education and 2 years secondary, so 9 years.

*And how many years did you work in total?*

22 years.

*Are you single or married?*

I am married.

*How many children do you have?*

I have four children.

## **Respondent 19**

*Where do you come from?*

Iringa rural, Iringa region.

*Did you also live in other places than just Iringa and Morogoro?*

Iringa urban, Dodoma, Dar es Salaam and Moshi.

*What kind of jobs did you have there?*

The first job was animal rearing, selling commodities in the streets and as a housekeeper.

*When did you come here?*

I came here one year ago.

*What kind of job do you have now?*

I am working in this shop, to sell commodities from China.

*Why did you come to Morogoro?*

Before I was just doing a job of housekeeping. But then a friend of my boss in Dodoma told me to come here.

*How do you like Morogoro?*

I like Morogoro.

*How did you think you would find a job?*

That friend told me here are good jobs and he told me I could benefit more than with doing just housekeeping. But he did not find a job for me. He just convinced me to come here. And then when I came here I found a job.

*Did you visit Morogoro before you came here to live?*

No, I did not visit it before.

*What did you expect about the income in Morogoro?*

It is better here compared to before.

*Did you come just for higher income, or also other reasons? Why did you decide to leave your previous job?*

I was looking at the nature of the job and also at the earnings of the job. And here that was better. This kind of business I can do it everywhere, but here there are more customers, so that is why it is a good place.

*Was it also important that you could get a loan or insurance to come here?*

My boss has insurance, but I do not have. For me it is not important.

*When you look to your income, do you also compare it with others?*

It is the same.

*With whom do you compare it?*

The earnings depend on the nature of the business. So the comparison depends on what are you selling.

*Did it also play a role in coming here, to earn more in comparison with others?*

No

*Did you decide to come to Morogoro just alone, or did you also talk about it with your family?*

First I decided it myself, and after that I informed my parents that I decided to live here.

*What did your parents think about it?*

They agreed, but first they asked whether I was really to go here.

*Did other family members migrate as well?*

No, I am alone.

*Do you know other people who migrated as well to Morogoro?*

Yes.

*Who?*

People from my tribe.

*Did they also help with getting a job or a house?*

They did not really help, because we are not so close.

*Were there still more things important in your decision to come here?*

The main important thing is to change the job situation.

*Do you sometimes visit Iringa?*

I go sometimes, but last time was two years ago.

*When you go there, where do you stay?*

I stay in the family house.

*Is it possible to return to Iringa again?*

It will be possible if I have something to do there. I cannot depend on farming. But if there is anything to do I can go.

*Do you want to go back?*

Yes.

*Why?*

It is my motherland and I can help my parents when I am there, but I do not have money.

*So you stay here because you do not have enough money otherwise?*

Yes, I stay here to find money. My father passed away, so I should find money and send it to my mother and little brothers and sisters.

*How satisfied are you with life?*

Somehow I am dissatisfied, because the life is so tough. The salary is low, the profit of the business is not rising.

*Are you more satisfied than before you came here?*

Now it is somehow good, but the life expenses have increased, so that is difficult.

*Did your health change due to migration?*

It has positively changed.

*How satisfied are you with your health?*

It is good.

*Did the housing situation change due to migration to Morogoro?*

There is a difference, here all basics are available. In the village you just collect water from the pump. Here there is electricity, transport, hospitals, much better than in rural area. So here, the living situation is better.

*But do you rent a house, a room, or have your own house?*

I rent a house.

*How satisfied are you with it?*

I am satisfied because I do not have power to build a house for myself.

*Did your income change due to migration?*

Yes, it increased.

*Are you satisfied with it?*

Yes.

*How satisfied are you with your job?*

I am comfortable with this, because I am capable of doing this job.

*Did the contact with the family change due to migration?*

The communication is better now, because I can use a telephone.

*Are you satisfied with it?*

Yes.

*Did your social network change due to coming here?*

My friends changed. There I got a lot of friends, more than here.

*How satisfied are you now with your friends?*

The communication has broken due to the distance, so I am dissatisfied with it.

*And leisure time, did that change due to migration?*

I have a lot of time to rest, more than before.

*Are you satisfied with it?*

Yes.

*Which place do you like more, Morogoro or Iringa?*

I like Iringa a lot, because it is my motherland.

*What do you expect for the future?*

I really would like to study more, but I do not have the means to do it.

*How old are you?*

25.

*How many years of education did you take?*

I reached standard 7 years. Then I past to secondary, but my father failed to pay the school fee, so then I had to stop.

*How many years did you work in total?*

I worked for 8 years.

*Are you single or married?*

Single.

*Do you have children?*

No.

## **Respondent 20**

*What is your place of origin?*

Iringa region.

*Did you live in more places than Morogoro and Iringa?*

No, I have never lived in another place, but I pass around many places.

*What did you do before you came to Morogoro?*

Before I came here I was studying.

*When did you arrive in Morogoro?*

1993.

*What is your current occupation?*

I am a truck driver.

*Why did you come to Morogoro?*

I decided to come to Morogoro because I do not want to depend on my parents.

*How do you like it in Morogoro?*

I decided to come to Morogoro because I thought staying at home would be a challenge for me. So I better can work extra.

*How did you think you would find a job when you came here?*

I was coming to work for someone; I arranged the job before I came here to live.

*Did you visit Morogoro before you came here to live?*

No.

*What did you expect about the income in Morogoro?*

I never thought about income in Morogoro. What matters for me is that I stay outside my parents place. Being with your parents, they will help you. But if you stay far from, you have to fight for your own life.

*Was it also important to be able to get a loan or insurance when you came here?*

At the time when I decided to come to Morogoro it was hard to get a loan, because only those who have properties get a loan.

*When you look to your income, do you also compare it with others?*

I do not compare my income with others, because I do not want to get discouraged. When you find others get higher income than you, and then you are dissatisfied. So it is better to just do not look to it.

*How did you come to the decision to migrate, did you decide it yourself or did you also talk with your parents about it?*

The decision was my own, but my parents agreed with it.

*Did other family members migrate as well?*

Yes, my brother also migrated to Morogoro, but I came first.

*Did you know other people that lived in Morogoro before you came here?*

No.

*Are there still more things important in your decision to come here?*

No.

*Do you sometimes visit your place of origin?*

I normally visit once per year.

*And when you go, where do you stay?*

I stay in my parents' house; I also contributed to the building of the house.

*Is it possible for you to go there and live there again?*

I do not see a reason to go back and live there.

*So you do not want to go back?*

It is not that I do not like, but I started my life here, so in Iringa I would be a newcomer again.

*Do you want to live in Morogoro permanently?*

If my plans work out, I will stay here. But if it will not work out, then I have to migrate to another place.

*How satisfied are you with your life?*

I am satisfied with my income, but I still have too less income to fulfil my plans.

*Are you more satisfied than before you came here?*

I am satisfied with life here; in Iringa I was depending on my parents. Now I am helping myself and started a family, so I am satisfied.

*Is your health changed due to migration?*

My health did not change much due to migration. But when I came here I was still a small boy, so what changes is that I am now grown up.

*Are you satisfied with your health?*

Yes, I am satisfied.

*Did your housing situation change due to migration?*

Housing condition did change, in Iringa I stayed at my parents' house, which was a cheap house. Here the housing condition is better.

*Do you rent a house or own a house?*

Before I rented a house, but now I stay in my own house.

*Are you satisfied with your house?*

I am satisfied because it is my own house. That is much better than rented houses where you have disturbance from the owners.

*How satisfied are you with your income?*

I am dissatisfied with my income but this is the nature of the job that I can do. It needs my demands but it is still low.

*How satisfied are you with your job?*

I am dissatisfied; I would like to be self-employed. I do not want to divide all my income with assistants and owners.

*Did the contact with the family change due to migration?*

The communication improved due to the introduction of sell phones, before that I used letters. So now it is better.

*Are you satisfied with the communication?*

I am somehow satisfied, I prefer to see them more than only communicate by phone.

*Did your social network change due to migration?*

I still have contact with my friends in Iringa, so it did not change.

*Are you satisfied with it?*

I am satisfied with my friends; I like to communicate with them.

*Did your leisure activities change due to migration?*

Now I have little time, especially compared with before.

*So you are not so satisfied?*

Well, I do not need to have more time for leisure. I prefer to get more income than to have more leisure time.

*How does Morogoro differ from Iringa with regard of transport and roads?*

There is no difference between the two places.

*And hospitals?*

It is also the same in the two places.

*And electricity and water?*

They are better in Iringa, in Morogoro there are sometimes some problems with electricity and water.

*Which place do you like more, Morogoro or Iringa?*



I like Iringa more due to the weather condition.

*What do you expect for the future?*

I would like to be self-employed.

*How old are you?*

33.

*How many years of education did you take?*

Nine years: I did seven years of primary education, one year mechanics and one for driving.

*How many years did you work in total?*

12 years.

*Are you single or married?*

I am married.

*Do you have children?*

I have one child.

## **Respondent 21**

*What is your place of origin?*

Mgeta, Morogoro region .

*Did you live in other places than Mgeta and Morogoro?*

No, only in Morogoro.

*When did you arrive in Morogoro?*

1995.

*What is your occupation?*

I am a tailor.

*Why did you decide to come to Morogoro?*

Because Morogoro is near to my home place. And I came here due to hardship of life in Mgeta.

*And how do you evaluate your decision to come here?*

I evaluate my decision as being a good decision.

*How did you think you would find a job here?*

I was not aware of how I could find a job.

*Did you visit Morogoro before you came here to live?*

No.

*What did you expect about the income in Morogoro?*

I expected to have higher income in town.

*Was the probability of getting a loan or insurance important to come here?*

Getting a loan or insurance was not one of the reasons of coming here. Because when you come from the village you cannot get a loan, no one trust you.

*When you look to your income, do you also compare it with others to see if you earn more or less?*

I look only to my own income.

*Did you decide to migrate to Morogoro just alone, or did you also talk about it with your parents?*

I decided to come here just by myself.

*Did other family members migrate as well?*

My brothers moved from Mgeta to other places.

*Did you also know people who migrated to Morogoro before you came here?*

Yes, some friends.

*Did they help you with maybe getting a job or a house?*

They helped me with getting an accommodation.

*What did your family think about your decision to come here?*

They are satisfied with my decision.

*Were there still other things important in your decision to come here?*

The main reason is due to hard life.

*Do you sometimes visit Mgeta?*

I normally visit once or twice per year.

*When you go there, where do you stay?*

I stay in my parents' house.

*Is it possible for you to return home?*

No.

*But do you want to go back again?*

I will go to Mgeta only for visits.

*So what makes Morogoro so nice to live?*

I see Morogoro as a better place because it changed my life.

*Do you want to live in Morogoro permanently?*

Yes, I want to stay in Morogoro.

*How satisfied are you with your life?*

I am dissatisfied, I am still thinking about other plans.

*What kind of plans?*

I would like to change from being tailor to engage in agricultural activities.

*Are you more or less satisfied than before you came here?*

I am now more satisfied with my life.

*Did your health change due to migration?*

I am satisfied with my health, because it changed positively.

*Your housing situation, did that change?*

Here it is better.

*Do you rent a house, or have your own house?*

I rent a house.

*How satisfied are you with your house?*

I am somehow satisfied because I am building my own house.

*Did your income change when you came here?*

Yes, it changed positively.

*Are you satisfied with the income?*

I am somehow satisfied, but not hundred percent.

*How satisfied are you with your job?*

I am satisfied, but I would like to do something else.

*Did your contact with the family change due to migration?*

I still communicate with them and I am satisfied with it.

*How did your social network change due to migration?*

My friends in Morogoro are different from my friends in Mgeta. Here they are better.

*So you are satisfied with your friends?*

Yes.

*Did leisure time change due to coming here?*

My leisure time has changed because now I am too busy and I do not have time for leisure, while before in Mgeta I had a lot of leisure time.

*So how satisfied are you with it?*

I am dissatisfied; I need much time for leisure.

*How do Morogoro and Mgeta differ with regard of transport and roads?*

Transport and roads are better in Morogoro.

*And hospitals?*

Also better in Morogoro.

*And electricity and water services?*

Electricity in Morogoro is better, in Mgeta there is no electricity. And in Mgeta there is only water from wells.

*Which place do you like more, Morogoro or Mgeta?*

Morogoro.

*What do you expect for the future?*

In future, I would like to engage in agricultural activities.

*How old are you?*

37.

*How many years of education did you take?*

Only primary seven.

*How many years did you work?*

15 years.

*Are you single or married?*

I am married and have two children

## **Respondent 22**

*What is your place of origin?*

Tanga region.

*Did you live in more places?*

Yes, I also lived in Dar es Salaam.

*How long did you live there?*

I lived there for 5 years.

*And after you left there you came to Morogoro?*

No, first I went back to Tanga and then to Morogoro.

*When did you arrive in Morogoro?*

2008.

*What did you do in Dar es Salaam?*

I was studying first secondary education and then for nursing. The rest I just stayed there and did not work.

*What did you do in Tanga?*

I studied primary education and after that I did not do anything there.

*What is your occupation now?*

I am a shop seller.

*Why did you decide to come to Morogoro?*

Because I was tired of staying in Tanga. My father was sick, so I joined him to Morogoro to stay at my brother's house. Then when my father was well, my brother told me that I could better stay here in town, and I started to study for tailoring which my brother paid. But then after some time my sister in law did not want to spend money on me, so then my brother helped me to find a job for me.

*Why did you decide before to come to Dar es Salaam?*

After completion of my primary education, I went to Dar es Salaam for my further studies. My brother paid for my fees. But then he went to a mission outside the country so he could not pay the education anymore. Then I decided to go back to Tanga after three years. But then my sister called me and told me to come back to Dar es Salaam to study for nursing, but after one year I could not pay the fees anymore, so I stopped the study and went back to Tanga again.

*How do you evaluate your choice to come here?*

I am satisfied with my decision, because now I depend on myself.

*How did you think you would find a job before you came here?*

I did not think about getting a job when I came here.

*Did you visit Morogoro before you came here to live?*

Yes.

*What did you expect about the income in Morogoro?*

I thought income in Morogoro would be somehow satisfying, but until now, it is not.

*Was it important to be able to get a loan or insurance to come here?*

No, I am afraid of getting a loan, how could I pay it back?

*When you look to your income, do you also compare it with others?*

I normally look at my own income and do not compare it with others.

*What did your family think about it that you stay here?*

My parents died, so they did not say anything about it.

*Are there still more things important?*

No.

*Do you sometimes visit your place of origin?*

I sometimes visit Tanga, once to three times per year.

*Where do you stay when you go there?*

I stay at my sister's house.

*Is it possible for you to return and live there again?*

No, I tuned myself to stay at Morogoro.

*Do you want to stay in Morogoro permanently?*

If I would get someone to help me, then I also might shift to another place. But for now it is all right.

*Do you sometimes want to go back to Tanga again?*

Yes, because it is my home place.

*What keeps you in Morogoro?*

Only life and work keep me here.

*How satisfied are you with your life?*

I am dissatisfied because I do not have a lot of income, but also a bit satisfied because I can earn my living.

*Are you more or less satisfied with your life than before you came here?*

I am satisfied here more, before I was living the life of harassment of sisters-in-law, but now I just live my life alone.

*Do you rent a house or own a house?*

I rent a house.

*How satisfied are you with it?*

I am dissatisfied with it, but I cannot afford anything else, so it is all right. I cannot get a better place.

*Is your housing situation better than before you came here?*

The housing condition in Morogoro is better than in Tanga.

*Did your health change due to migration?*

No.

*Are you satisfied with your health?*

I am dissatisfied, because I want to be a bit thinner.

*How satisfied are you with your job?*

I am dissatisfied, but getting jobs without education is a hard thing, so I just continue working.

*Did the contact with the family change due to migration?*

I can just communicate normally with the family, so I am satisfied with it.

*Did your friends change due to coming here?*

In Tanga I have many friends, but here I do not have any friend. I was satisfied with my friends at Tanga, but here I am dissatisfied with it.

*Did your leisure time or activities change due to coming here?*

At Tanga I had much time for leisure, but here there is not much time.

*How satisfied are you with the time you have?*

I would like to have much time for leisure, but it is just not possible because I have no more time.

*When you compare Morogoro with Tanga, how is it different with roads and transport?*

The roads and transport in Morogoro and Tanga are the same, but before it was not good in Tanga.

*And hospitals?*

Hospital services in Morogoro are better, in Tanga there is just one hospital, while here there are many hospitals.

*And water and electricity services?*

It is almost the same.

*Which place do you like more, Morogoro or Tanga?*

I like Tanga more because it is my home place.

*What do you expect for the future?*

If my income will increase, I will stay here. But if I cannot depend on myself anymore, then I have to go back home.

*How old are you?*

I am 20.

*How many years of education did you take?*

I did 7 years primary, and 3 years of secondary and 1 year of nursing, so 11 years.

*How many years did you work?*

Just 10 months now.

*Are you single or married?*

I am single.

*Do you have children?*

No.

### **Respondent 23**

*What is your place of origin?*

I come from Matombo, Morogoro region.

*Besides Matombo and Morogoro, did you live in other places?*

No.

*And what was your occupation in Matombo?*

I did agricultural activities.

*When did you arrive in Morogoro?*

2009.

*What kind of job do you have now?*

I am a businessman.

*Why did you come to Morogoro?*

To find a better life.

*But what is a better life?*

Life in villages is different from towns. So I decided to come to Morogoro to find some activities for which I can earn some income.

*How do you evaluate your decision to come here?*

My decision to come to Morogoro was a good decision.

*How did you think you would find a job here?*

I already had some experiences in building activities, so I thought I could get a job.

*Did you visit Morogoro before you came here to live?*

No.

*What did you expect about the income in Morogoro?*

I expected to have some income, which can fulfil my basic needs.

*Was it also important in your decision to come here that you also could get a loan or insurance?*

Yes.

*When you look to your income, do you also compare it with others to see how much you earn?*

No, I only look at my own income.

*How did you come to the decision to migrate, just by yourself or also by talking about it with your family?*

It was my own decision.

*Did other family members migrate as well?*

There are other relatives who migrated as well to other places.

*Did you know people who migrated to Morogoro before you came here?*

Yes.

*Whom did you know?*

A friend of mine.

*Did he also help you with getting a job or house?*

He helped me; he let me stay in his own house in the beginning.

*What did your family think about your decision to come here?*

They think it is good, because there is some improvement in my income.

*Were there still other things important?*

No.

*Do you sometimes visit your place of origin?*

Sometimes, but until now I have been there only once.



*And when you are there, where do you stay?*

I stay in my own house.

*Did you already had a house before you came here?*

No, I got it after coming here.

*Is it possible for you to return home?*

No.

*Why not?*

Because life in Matombo is still hard.

*But do you want to go back?*

No.

*What makes Morogoro attractive to stay?*

What attract me here is the activities with which I can earn income.

*Do you want to live permanently in Morogoro?*

I will be in Morogoro for a long time I think.

*Are you satisfied with your life?*

Somehow, like 50%.

*What makes it nice and what is less nice?*

I am satisfied because I get more income. But my income did not improve so much.

*Are you more or less satisfied than before you came here?*

I am now more satisfied than before.

*Did your health change due to migration?*

My health has improved.

*So you are satisfied with it?*

Yes.

*Did your housing situation change due to migration?*

The housing condition in Morogoro is better than in Matombo. Here I am satisfied with the situation.

*Do you rent a house, or have your own house?*

I rent a house.

*But why did you get your own house in Matombo and rent a house here?*

I decided to build a house in Matombo because it is my home place and my family stays there. Here I stay only because of my income.

*Did your job change due to coming here?*

My job changed, before I was mostly engaged in agriculture.

*How satisfied are you with your job?*

I am satisfied now.

*Did the contact with your family change due to migration?*

The communication with my family members did not change. I am satisfied with it.

*Did your social contacts, your friends change due to migration?*

My friends have changed due to migration. My friends here help me much more than in Matombo. So I am satisfied with it.

*And leisure time or activities did that change?*

No.

*Are you satisfied with it?*

Yes, I am satisfied.

*If you compare Morogoro with Matombo with regard of roads and transport, what is the difference?*

There is no difference; it is the same in the two places.

*And hospitals?*

It is also almost the same. But sometimes here it is busy in the hospital. But the services are comparable.

*And electricity and water services?*

In Matombo there is no electricity, but water is available. In Morogoro both is available.

*Which place do you like more, Morogoro or Matombo?*

Morogoro.

*What do you expect for the future?*

I would like to develop more.

*How old are you?*

30 years.

*How many years of education did you take?*

11 years.

*How many years did you work?*

10 years.

*Are you single or married?*

I am married.

*Do you have children?*

I have one child.

## **Respondent 24**

*What is your place of origin?*

I came from Tanga region.

*Besides Tanga and Morogoro, did you live in other places?*

First, I went to Tanga town in 1959, and then in 1965 to Morogoro for employment, from there I went to Nairobi in 1968 for studies for four years, then to Mwanza, Moshi and Arusha around 1972. After that then I came back to Morogoro in 1973 again. I lived in many places; I was an immigrant within the employment.

*What was your occupation in Tanga?*

I was still a student and I went to Tanga town for secondary education.

*What was your occupation in Morogoro?*

I went for employment as a treasurer, an accountant.

*Why did you then move to Nairobi?*

I went there to increase my education. Then in Mwanza, Moshi and Arusha I was a treasurer.

*Why did you come back to Morogoro?*

When I came back in Morogoro I came to teach accountancy at Mzumbe University from 1973 to 1974. After that I became accountant in a transport company from 1974 to 1999. In 1991 to 1994 I was also the mayor of Morogoro municipality. After that I retired and remained in Morogoro. I just do some farming.

*Why did you decide to come to Morogoro in the first place?*

It was the place of employment. I already had a job in Morogoro before I came here.

*Why did you come again to Morogoro?*

My interest is to get my children education. In Morogoro there is good education.

*When you look back on your decision to come to Morogoro, how do you evaluate it?*

Morogoro is a nice area according to the weather, agriculture, cultivation and they have sustainable food. I have been able to feed my family and take them to school, and so many could graduate at university. This has got my family in a good position.

*Did you visit Morogoro before you came there to work?*

Yes, when you wanted to go to Dar es Salaam, you came through Morogoro. The road to Dar in the past came through Morogoro.

*What did you expect about the income?*

The income was very low, but it was satisfactory because things were very cheap and the population was very small. When I came, there were not more than 30.000 people, now around 500.000.

*Was it also important that you was able to get a loan or insurance?*

I took insurance for myself indeed, but now it has insured and I have paid the school fees for my children with it.

*When you look to your income, did you also compare it with other people?*

My income is very normal, but it is satisfactory for my needs at this age. My small income is satisfactory to my needs.

*Was this also important to come to Morogoro?*

No, I just want to be able to get my needs.

*Did you just decide to come to Morogoro by yourself, or did you also discuss it with your family?*

No, I decided to come to Morogoro by myself.

*Did other family members migrate as well?*

My family members remained in Tanga and they are really satisfied. They have cattle. I could go back, but I found it was better to have a new experience of life with my new family.

*When you came to Morogoro, did you already know other people who are living here?*

No, I did not know people here. Now I know many people in Morogoro and I am known in the town because of my job as the mayor.

*So no one helped you when you came to Morogoro?*

No, I was independent, I looked for a house by myself, but of course I already had a contract.

*What did your family think about your decision to go to Morogoro?*

They were very happy because I was independent.

*Do you sometimes visit your place of origin?*

Very regular, I have been in Tanga this year already 5 times.

*When you go there, where do you stay?*

We have got houses there, beautiful houses. We built it when I was already in Morogoro. In addition, my father's house is still there, he built some good houses for the family as well.

*Would you like to go back to Tanga to live there again?*

At this age, I remain neutral. I have some family in Tanga, but I also have a family in Morogoro. I have some children and grandchildren in Morogoro. Therefore, it is easy for me to remain in Morogoro permanently, while it is not easy to remain in Tanga permanently.

*You want to stay here the rest of your life?*

Yes, if I still have a couple of years, I better remain in Morogoro than going back where you have to start a new life. An immigrant problem is going back to the area of original where you are not going to find friends; you need to start a new life where nobody knows you and nobody trust you because they have not lived with you.

*But it is possible if you want it?*

Yes, there is no hindering, but no reason to go back.

*How satisfied are you with your life?*

Yes, I am satisfied. I got food, I take my children to school, I get clothing, having a shelter. Then there is no problem and you have to be satisfied.

*When you came here in the beginning, were you then more satisfied than before, do you still know?*

It was a long time before, but it was a small town, especially compared with Tanga town where I studied before. So I was not too happy in Morogoro in the beginning.

*How satisfied are you with your health?*

I am satisfied.

*And how satisfied are you with your house?*

That is all right, there is no disturbance by anyone else.

*How satisfied are you when you look to your career, your jobs?*

The jobs were very nice and I completed them safely. I think I was really very satisfied and that is why I agreed to retire to do other things.

*And are you satisfied to be retired now?*

I am satisfied because I get my daily needs, my breath, clothes and I am free from compulsory things. When you are employed you are tied up, you do not have freedom, now I got freedom, I can just say I am leaving, I am going to Tanga now.

*Are you satisfied with the contact with your family?*

I enjoy it very much, they are happy with me and I am happy with them. They are always around, they always visit me and most of them live in Morogoro region.

*How satisfied are you with your friends in Morogoro?*

I am not sure, but I am much known in town because I was the first mayor of Morogoro.

*How satisfied are you with your leisure time?*

I can meet friends, can just talk to people and that is my theme. So I am happy with it.

*If you compare Morogoro and Tanga, what were the differences when you came here?*

The transport was then a problem in both places. We also did not have the communication methods as they are now available. In both places we had electricity and water.

*How satisfied are you with Morogoro nowadays?*

The traffic is really busy; it is not easy to get through town. More motor vehicles, motorcycles, bicycles. People are developed. Now there are 500.000 people, compared to 30.000 then.

*What do you hope for the future?*

I will just remain being able to get food, clothing, good health.

*How old are you?*

I am around 70.

*How old were you when you came to Morogoro?*

25.

*How many years of education?*

I completed class 12 and I went to institutes for around 7 years, so 19 in total.

*How many years did you work?*

I really do not know anymore.

*Are you married?*

Yes, my wife is here as well, I am married for 40 years.

*How many children do you have?*

I have plenty children.

## **Respondent 25**

*What is your place of origin?*

Mikumi, Morogoro region.

*Did you also live in other places than just Morogoro and Mikumi?*

No, I just came here for studying and after studying, I got a job in the dispensary.

*Before you came to Morogoro, what did you do in Mikumi?*

I was studying from primary school up to form four of secondary school. After secondary school, I came to Morogoro.

*When did you come to Morogoro?*

I came here last year.

*What is your job now?*

I work in the dispensary.

*Why did you decide to come to Morogoro?*

I came here to study for one year as a lab attendant and then I was employed. In the village the chances are just few.

*How do you evaluate your choice to come here?*

I like it here.

*Did you visit Morogoro before you came here to live?*

No.

*When you look to your income, do you also compare it with other people?*

It is different, but I am satisfied.

*Was it also important to come here to improve income?*

No, I came here for my study.

*Did you decide to come here yourself or also discuss it with the family?*

I decided it by myself.

*Did other family members migrate as well?*

No.

*Did you already know other people in Morogoro when you came here to live?*

When I came here I rented a house because I have no family living here.

*What did your family think about your decision to come to Morogoro?*

They are happy with it.

*Do you sometimes visit Mikumi?*

I go about once per month.

*Where do you then stay, in your parents' house, or where?*

Yes, I sleep at my parents' place.

*Is it possible for you to return home to live there again?*

It is possible, but I do not want to go back.

*Why not?*

I want to start my life alone here in Morogoro.

*Do you want to live in Morogoro for always?*

I want to live in Morogoro forever.

*How satisfied are you with your life?*

Yes, I am happy.

*Are you happier than before you came to Morogoro?*

Here I am happier, it is better here.

*Did your health change since you came here?*

No.

*Are you satisfied with your health?*

Yes.

*How did your housing situation change due to migration?*

It is still the same.

*Are you satisfied with your housing situation?*

Yes, I rent a room.

*How satisfied are you with your income?*

Yes, I am satisfied.

*How satisfied are you with your job?*

Yes, I am satisfied.

*Did the contact with your family change when you came to Morogoro?*

Yes.

*How did it change?*

It is good.

*Are you satisfied with the contact you have?*

Yes.

*Did the contact with friends change when you came here?*

No.

*Are you satisfied with the contact with your friends?*

Yes.

*Did your time for leisure change when you came to Morogoro?*

No.

*Are you satisfied with the leisure time you have?*

Yes.

*If you compare Morogoro with Mikumi, is there a difference with regard of roads and transport?*

The transport is good in both places. The busses come from other places passing through Mikumi to Morogoro, which is fine.

*Is there a difference with regard of access to hospitals and dispensaries?*

In Mikumi there is one big hospital, while in Morogoro there are more small dispensaries. But they are both good.

*Electricity and water, is there a difference between the both places?*

It is the same in the both places.

*Are you satisfied with living in Morogoro?*

Yes.

*What do you still expect for the future?*

I still like to go to another school, to be lab assistant. That study is for two years. I also want to get married and get children.

*How old are you?*

I am born in 1983.

*How many years of education did you take?*

11 years.

*How long do you already work?*

I work here for 5 months.

*Are you married or single?*

Single.

*Do you have children?*

I have no children.