



Demographic Shifts and 'Rural' Urbanization in Tanzania during the 2000s

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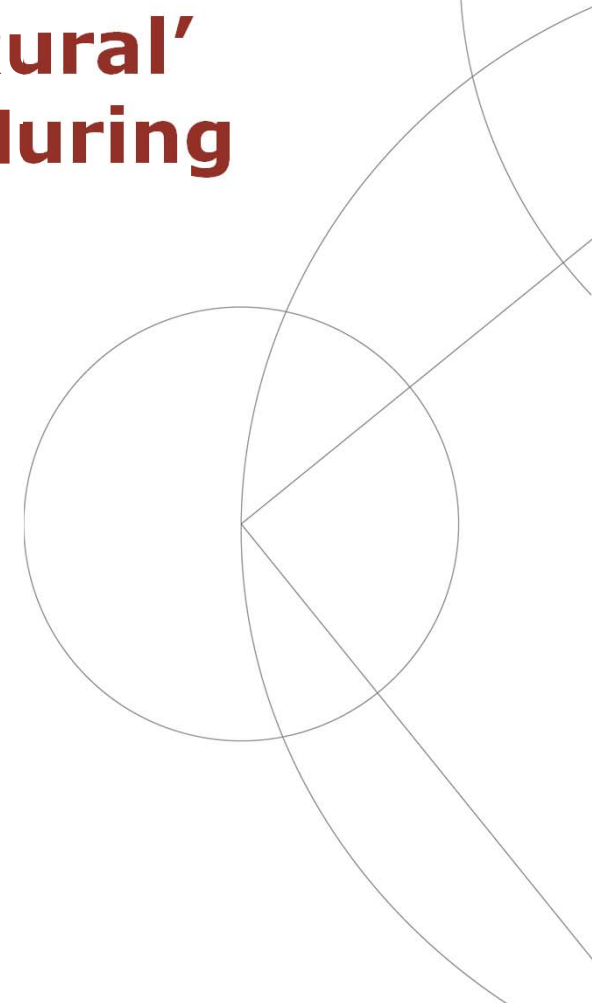
Demographic Shifts and 'Rural' Urbanization in Tanzania during the 2000s

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Urbanization as the New Global Frontier II

Jytte Agergaard, Sarah D'haen and Torben Birch-Thomsen



Village Towns ... Small towns ... Emerging Urban Centres

“Dar es Salaam is still growing also beyond what was predicted during the 2000s – but the eight major cities beyond Dar, that was meant to release the pressures from Dar, are stagnating. However, what is generally overlooked in urban planning in Tanzania is the development of **village towns**; first of all the local investment hubs that have developed along road and transport lines, but also the former Ujamaa villages”.

(Advisor in Land Planning, Policy Seminar, Dar es Salaam, 3 June 2013)

“Since the second national plan of Tanzania (1974-5) there has been no political will to develop cities and towns. The last master plan mentions urbanization, but there is no money for investment in urbanization and there is a lack of qualified supervision for the process – even for the 20.000 plot strategy that is mentioned in the plan”.

(Senior Planner in the Ministry of Lands Housing and Human Settlements Development, Policy Seminar, Dar es Salaam, 3 June 2013)



Rural-urban mobility and small town development

The overall objective of the paper is to explore the otherwise unrecorded importance of rural villages and small towns as centres for urbanization (urban frontiers) in Tanzania.

It does so by:

- Discussing how Tanzania's classification and political approach to 'urban' captures the nexus of rural transformation and urban transition
- Exploring changes in migration reasoning of migrants to non-metropolitan areas during the past 5-10 years
- Illustrating demographic and economic shifts in emerging urban centres (EUCs) and their relation to development within the past two decades



The missing middle

- The importance of small and intermediate urban centres (Satterthwaite & Tacoli 2006) – marketing, consolidation of non-farm activities and employment etc.
- “The missing middle”: the new economic geography vision of WB Report 2009 revisited (Christiaensen & Todo, 2013)
- Structural transformation and regional/national economies and urban “take-off” (e.g. Bryceson 2011)
- Urbanizing frontiers: Rural-urban complementarities and emerging urban centres (e.g. Larsen & Birch-Thomsen, forthcoming; Knudsen & Agergaard, forthcoming)



Table 1: Typology of Urban Settlement Patterns in Tanzania

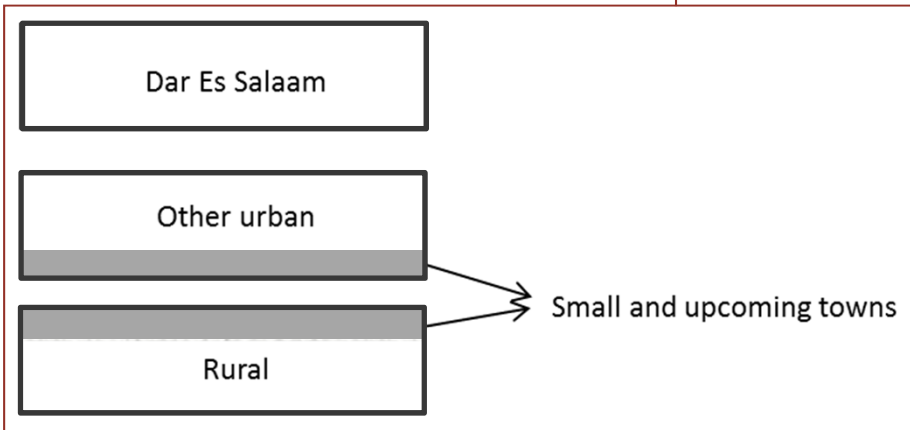
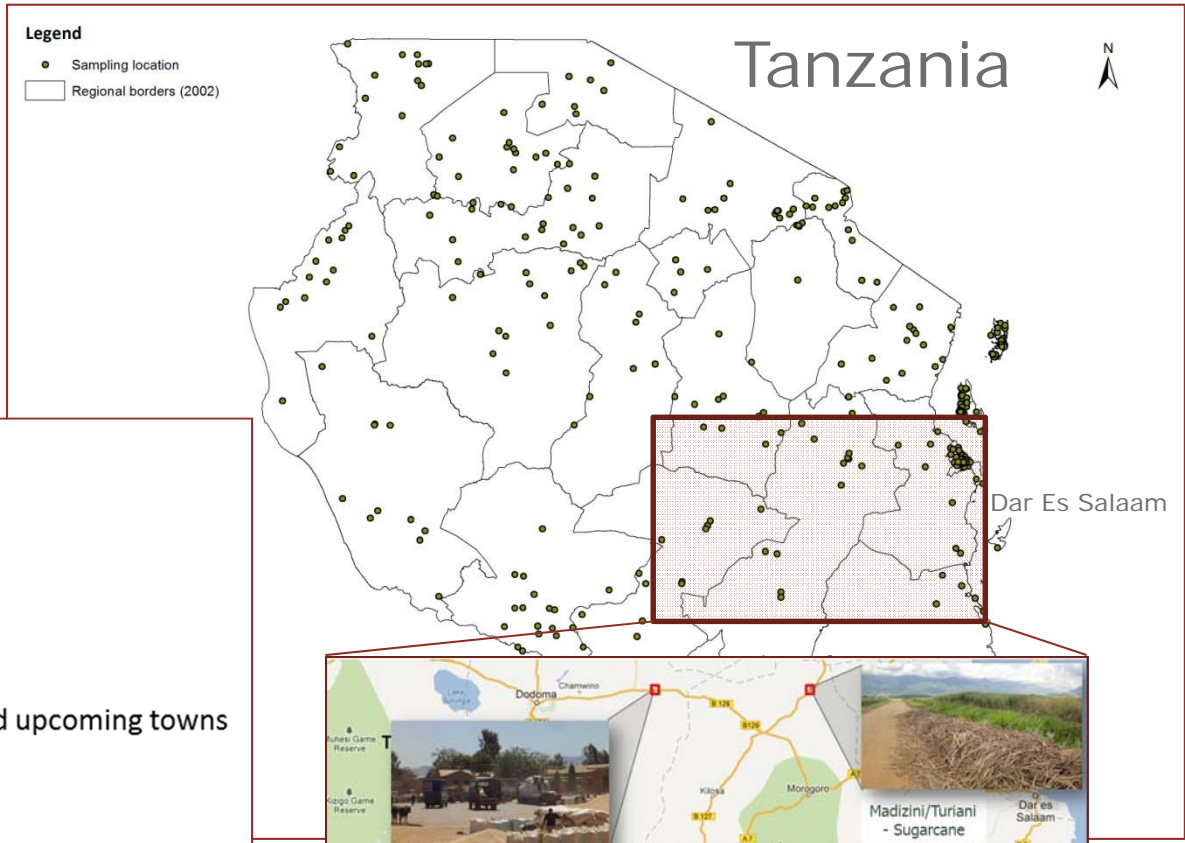
Urban Settlement Pattern		Characteristics	Process of Densification	Factors to consider in costing infrastructure requirements
Planned residential areas	Established before the mid 1980s; typically centrally located.	Planned and surveyed. Serviced, but infrastructure inadequate or poorly maintained.	Increase in occupancy rate. Horizontal or vertical expansion of property to accommodate increasing number of people per dwelling.	Increasing demand for infrastructure commensurate with increased densification, e.g., installation of sewerage systems, upgrading of water supply systems and expansion of parking facilities.
	Established from the mid 1980s; typically in peripheral areas.	Planned and surveyed. Services not provided before plots allocated. Developers have taken responsibility for infrastructure provision (roads, water and electricity) on an ad hoc basis and at high cost. Many dwellings remain unoccupied.	Little densification.	Servicing of plots including provision of roads and drainage on existing reserves, upgrading of water and electricity distribution systems, provision of solid waste collection services and provision of community facilities.
Unplanned residential areas	Consolidated, dense settlements.	Unplanned and not surveyed. Little infrastructure provision.	Increase in occupancy rate. Horizontal or vertical expansion of property to accommodate increasing number of people per dwelling.	Increasing demand for infrastructure commensurate with increased densification. Installation of water and sewerage distribution systems, upgrading electrical supply systems, provision of parking facilities.
	Unconsolidated, less dense settlements.	LGAs provide basic services in collaboration with communities (most commonly schools). Residents have taken responsibility for infrastructure provision (roads, water and electricity) on an ad hoc basis and at significant cost.	Subdivision and sale of plots to developers (unregulated).	Provision and upgrading of infrastructure and community facilities.
	Peri-urban villages (green field).	No basic infrastructure and services.	Subdivision of rural plots.	Provision of all basic infrastructure.

Source: Background paper prepared by Nnkya and Kombe.



Data and methodology

Tanzania National Panel Survey (NPS), executed in 2008/2009 and in 2010/2011

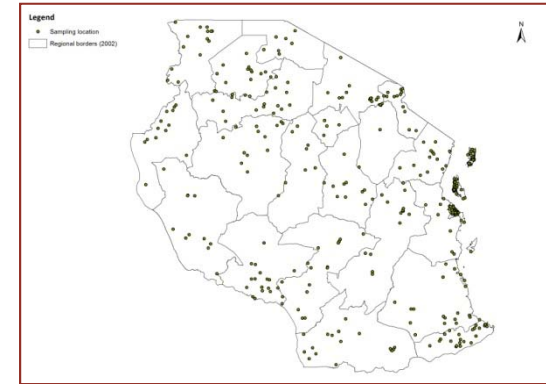


NPS subdivides data according to only three strata on mainland Tanzania: Dar Es Salaam, other urban areas and rural areas. The category other urban areas mainly consists of regional capitals, but also covers some minor towns. The category rural covers both rural villages and upcoming rural towns

Examples of 'Emerging Urban Centres' (EUCs)/- Small Towns – part of a joint SUA and UC research project on 'Rural-Urban Complementarities for the Reduction of Poverty' (RUCROP)

Panel Survey (1): Mobility

The National Panel Study is multi-topic, covering among other topics the most recent mobility patterns of surveyed households and their members (in total 3,846 HH interviewed).

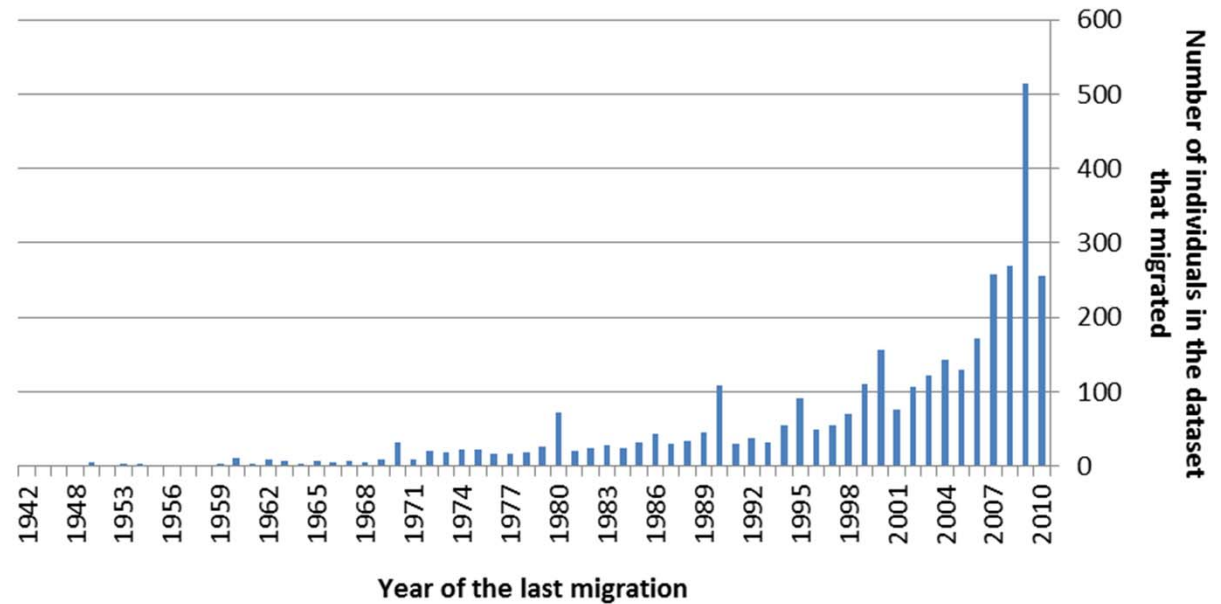


FROM:	TO:																				Total	
	Dodoma	Arusha	Kilimanjaro	Tanga	Morogoro	Pwani	Dar es salaam	Lindi	Mtwara	Ruvuma	Iringa	Mbeya	Singida	Tabora	Rukwa	Kigoma	Shinyanga	Kagera	Mwanza	Mara		Manyara
Dodoma	27	8	0	1	5	4	31	0	3	2	4	1	1	1	0	0	1	3	3	0	2	97
Arusha	2	30	10	0	2	1	11	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	17	75
Kilimanjaro	1	39	37	0	8	1	47	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	0	3	0	1	1	0	15	158
Tanga	0	3	12	52	6	1	55	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	0	138
Morogoro	4	1	1	6	43	1	79	0	0	0	1	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	5	2	0	147
Pwani	1	0	1	2	2	54	78	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	147
Dar es salaam	1	8	5	6	15	25	789	7	9	5	4	5	1	3	0	0	3	4	5	5	1	901
Lindi	0	0	0	0	0	5	31	114	27	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	180
Mtwara	0	0	1	4	1	4	29	23	150	7	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	224
Ruvuma	0	0	0	2	5	0	6	1	1	40	3	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	62
Iringa	4	0	0	4	4	0	26	0	1	7	58	12	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	119
Mbeya	2	1	0	1	2	1	21	0	3	0	11	63	0	9	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	124
Singida	1	7	2	0	5	0	11	0	0	0	0	0	32	6	0	0	10	0	5	0	3	82
Tabora	0	0	0	0	1	0	12	0	2	4	0	3	4	94	6	1	14	1	3	0	0	145
Rukwa	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	2	1	0	2	24	1	0	0	0	0	0	37
Kigoma	0	0	0	0	1	0	8	0	2	0	0	0	0	8	11	40	4	0	7	1	0	82
Shinyanga	2	2	1	0	5	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	5	53	5	0	92	8	34	4	1	220
Kagera	2	0	0	2	5	0	13	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	8	68	32	0	0	136
Mwanza	0	1	2	1	0	0	17	1	1	1	1	2	0	9	7	2	36	21	133	4	0	239
Mara	0	1	0	0	0	0	15	3	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	7	4	28	30	0	92
Manyara	9	11	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	48
KUSINI UNGUJA	0	0	0	0	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
MJINI/MAGHARIBI UNGUJ	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13
KASKAZINI PEMBA	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
KUSINI PEMBA	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	56	112	72	81	112	98	1311	153	203	71	89	90	49	198	67	48	177	111	262	51	63	3474

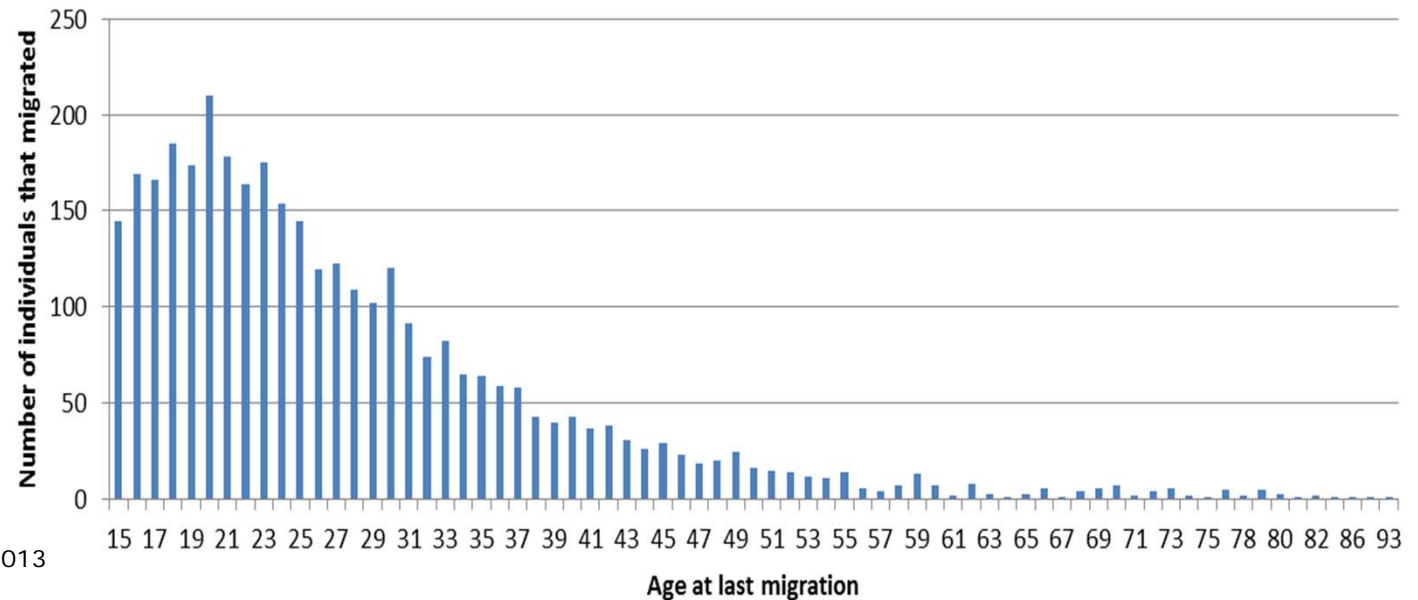


Panel survey (2): Mobility – year and age

For most migrants older than 14 at the time of migration, the most recent migration took place in the late 2000s



Predominantly by individuals in their late teens and early 20s



Panel Survey (3): Mobility - motivation

- A growing percentage of both male and female migration to **small urban areas** is motivated by job opportunities – the same is true for migration to rural areas, though to a less degree.
- Compared to 5-10 years ago, both male and female migration to small urban areas is increasingly motivated by schooling and educational opportunities.
- ‘Better services/housing’ is relatively high, though slightly decreasing – except for females migrating to rural!
- Access to ‘land/plot’ is decreasing in all cases

Migrations between 10 and 5 years ago	M TO SMALL URBAN		F TO SMALL URBAN		MALE TO RURAL		FEMALE TO RURAL	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
WORK RELATED	19	25.00	3	3.37	43	14.33	9	2.5
SCHOOL/STUDIES	1	1.32	0	0.00	1	0.33	1	0.28
MARRIAGE	0	0.00	29	32.58	1	0.33	172	47.78
OTHER FAMILY REASONS	19	25.00	31	34.83	79	26.33	97	26.94
BETTER SERVICES/HOUSING	30	39.47	23	25.84	110	36.67	49	13.61
LAND/PLOT	4	5.26	2	2.25	52	17.33	17	4.72
OTHER,SPECIFY	3	3.95	1	1.12	14	4.67	15	4.17
Total	76	100	89	100	300	100	360	100
Migrations in the last 5 years								
WORK RELATED	21	33.33	10	11.63	45	17.05	22	6.01
SCHOOL/STUDIES	9	14.29	5	5.81	9	3.41	4	1.09
MARRIAGE	0	0.00	23	26.74	2	0.76	154	42.08
OTHER FAMILY REASONS	11	17.46	26	30.23	83	31.44	98	26.78
BETTER SERVICES/HOUSING	18	28.57	18	20.93	95	35.98	67	18.31
LAND/PLOT	0		0		19	7.20	11	3.01
OTHER,SPECIFY	4	6.35	4	4.65	11	4.17	10	2.73
Total	63	100	86	100	264	100	366	100



Emergence of 'urban' centres

Ilula

- Introduction of improved tomato seed varieties (late 1980s)
- Concentration of health and educational services (1990s)
- Provision of electricity (1996)
- Improved access to credit facilities (1990s-2000s)
- Township status (2002)
- Mobile phones (2003)
- Establishment of new tomato market (2006)
- Improved infrastructure (2010)

Madizini

- Establishment of the sugar estate (1963); new factory (1973)
- Privatization of the estate (early 1990s) - expanding out-grower scheme
- Provision of credit facilities (1990s)
- Provision of electricity (late 1990s onwards)
- Township status (2002)
- Increasing importance as commercial and service centre (2000s)
- Establishment of highway connecting Morogoro and Tanga (currently)



Demographic shifts of Ilula

Population size

- Approximately 20-25,000 inhabitants (2012 census)

Dominant migration patterns:

- Majority of people in Ilula are migrants (61%)
- Vast majority are intra-regional migrants (83%)
 - of which 57% were intra-district migrants

Source: Survey of 350 HH (Mshote 2012)

Types of migration:

- 'rural-rural': access to land, agric. labour, access to 'the market place'
- 'rural/hinterland-EUC/urban': access to services (water, electricity, health facilities), job/business opportunities, improved housing
- 'rural/urban-EUC': long distance migrants, business investors, government employees

Region	N	%
Iringa	177	83.1
Kilimanjaro	3	1.4
Mbeya	10	4.7
Shinyanga	3	1.4
Tanga	5	2.3
Morogoro	6	2.8
Ruvuma	4	1.9
Dares Salaam	2	0.9
Mara	2	0.9
Dodoma	1	0.5
Total	213	100

Origin of migrants



Demographic shifts of Madizini

Population size

- Approximately 14,000 inhabitants (2010) + 4-5,000 temporary/seasonal migrants

Madizini as a migrant place

- More than 75 percent of migrants originate from other regions of Tanzania
- The size and importance of sugar-related farming and/or employment as migration attraction is decreasing

Diverse migration and settlement trajectories

- Early migrants to the sugarcane frontier leaving the 'rural' hinterland
- Migrants from the estate
- Sugar cane workers
- Service sector migrants
- 'Retirement migrants'
- Family network migrants



Concluding remarks

What characterize the urbanization frontier – ‘missing middle’?
Our analysis has indicated:

- People move and settle for new reasons (job and services) indicating non-rural characteristics of otherwise rural places
- Women are increasingly moving for non-family reasons
- The legacy of crop driven development persist but non-farming related livelihood opportunities are increasing
- EUCs have become centers of services not only for their inhabitants but also for the ‘rural’ hinterlands
- The transformation is realized by the announcement of the centers as ‘townships’ more than ten years ago – but without the governance structures in place

We have demonstrated that the existing categories of rural and urban in Tanzania doesn’t capture the growing importance of ‘rural urbanization’

